

"Our findings come from a survey just made in eight key States and from chain and referral organizations and trade magazines covering the United States.

"One referral group, representing 690 motels with over 34,000 rooms reported an across-the-board drop of 12.3 percent in room sales for the first 50 days of 1963 with curtailment of expense account spending as the principal cause. Surveys within the States of California, Arizona, Nevada, Illinois, Louisiana, Michigan, and Minnesota boosted the total for loss of business during January and February to an average of 16.3 percent.

"The National Restaurant Association has reported that 80,000 workers in public restaurants stand to lose their jobs if sales do not increase. With 22,000 employees affected in motels alone, it is reasonable to expect that at least a total of 60,000 people face unemployment in the lodging industry, which, combined with the restaurant total, adds to about 140,000 jobs that would be jeopardized in the combined food service and lodging industries.

"Our reports show that there is confusion, misunderstanding and apprehension on the part of businessmen and executives as to what types and amounts of expense accounts are tax deductible. This confusion is responsible for much of the drop in sales and must be cleared up before normal business can be expected."

RESTAURANT SUPPLIERS HIT

Meat: "For the first time, no overtime is being required for truck drivers to supply the demands of restaurants and hotels."

Liquor: "A tremendous dropoff in sales at a time when conventions have been a stable factor in company sales."

Coffee: "A 15 percent decrease in orders with our company which sells coffee only to the food and lodging industry."

Fish: "At the height of the lenten season, sales are down 20 percent among our high class restaurant accounts."

Beer: "The worst February in sales in many years by our company (a major beer distributor in the Chicago area)."

Tableware: "A trend to second grade items by restaurants replacing quality products because of lower revenue and profits."

Bread products: "February and March sales off 5 to 10 percent. Hotel accounts affected seriously as compared to a year ago."

Market, which in turn is the basis for determining which tariffs may be cut.

It is encouraging to note that the Tariff Commission's going slow on Federal subsidies, a new form of unemployment compensation to workers and industries.

A BREAK FOR CONSUMERS

For all the talk of freer trade, last year's Trade Expansion Act included features mighty appealing to protectionists.

In the first place, there was the fact that the President was given sweeping powers not only to cut tariffs but to raise them. Then, too, the act preserved the prior law's escape clause and added something new—adjustment assistance.

Under these provisions, anyone who believes he has been injured by imports stemming from a tariff cut can appeal to the Tariff Commission for higher import duties. And he can ask an assortment of direct financial and other aid to remedy his alleged injury. Not only was the way open to back-track to protectionism, but a whole new system of Federal subsidies seemed to be in the making.

So it's encouraging, not to say surprising, that the Commission so far has been taking a hard look at appeals under the new act. So hard, in fact, that it has turned down all six pleas on which it has acted. The Commission found that the pleas did not meet the law's requirements, that tariff cuts and increased imports were not the major reasons for the petitioners' troubles.

The connection between tariff cuts and increased imports is often slim; imports may rise chiefly because of rising American consumer demand for such things as Europe's small cars. And in some cases a businessman's troubles may stem more from bad management than from imports. In any event, any dislocations suffered by some businesses must be balanced against the higher price burden that tariff boosts impose on consumers.

There's no telling whether the new legislation will bring more or less trade freedom. But right now the Tariff Commission may figure consumers pay enough visible taxes without being soaked with a lot of new hidden ones.

personally lays bare the whole sorry record with respect to Cuba, fixing responsibility specifically where it belongs, the controversy will continue and it should.

The following editorial from the Washington Evening Star throws needed light on this subject:

CUBAN BLOWUP

The roaring row between the Cuban exiles and the State Department is a very ugly piece of business. And it may well get worse before it gets better.

As it has appeared in fragmentary form, a statement by Jose Miro Cardona, president of the Cuban Revolutionary Council of exile groups, hardly stops short of challenging President Kennedy's integrity. Among the accusations reportedly appearing in the statement is one which says that Mr. Kennedy, on the day of the final failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion, personally "formalized a pact which called for a new invasion."

In a formal announcement, the State Department asserts that the statement by Dr. Miro Cardona is "highly inaccurate and distorted," and that there is documentary evidence to establish this. Dr. Miro Cardona retorts: "I told the truth. I do not tell lies."

To say the least, this is a nasty mess. And it reinforces the view which we have repeatedly expressed—namely, that this Government should tell the American people the whole story of the Cuban affairs and its aftermath. Certainly, it cannot be covered up much longer.

We would like to touch on a few other points. The State Department says "the United States cannot coexist with a Soviet satellite in this hemisphere." Yet it seems to us that this is precisely what we have been and are doing. The next paragraph in the formal statement speaks of our Government's desire to continue consultations with the exiles with a view to the ultimate liberation of Cuba by "suitable methods," but that in determining these methods "the policies of the Government in the field of foreign affairs, particularly those which carry the risk of war, will continue to be determined by the Government and the people of the United States." We suspect that the "people" will not have much to say in the matter. But we fully agree that the Government, and not the Cuban exiles, must determine the issue of peace or war. Meanwhile, the outlook, despite the disclaimer, is for continued coexistence with a Soviet satellite in this hemisphere.

Now, just a word for Dr. Miro Cardona and those who may follow in his footsteps. He was a leader of the Cuban revolution and served for a while as Fidel Castro's Premier. It was he and others like him, not the United States, who brought this disaster to Cuba. And their wretched experience should at least serve as a warning the next time some phony Robin Hood comes along with promises of a new deal for an oppressed people.

A Wise U.S. Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Lodi, Calif., News-Sentinel of April 4, 1963:

Cuban Blowup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, until and unless President Kennedy, himself, lays before the public the whole sordid mess of the Bay of Pigs fiasco and subsequent events bearing directly on the Communist takeover of Cuba, neither the citizens of this country nor the expatriates of that unhappy island will be convinced of anything.

It is not enough for Attorney General Kennedy, brother of the President, to attempt to explain away the sequence of failures and lack of policy. He is not the Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Armed Forces. If he has been designated as such, the citizens of this country ought to be advised as to when the Constitution was amended and who amended it.

Until and unless President Kennedy

Trade Act Shortcomings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, no law passed last year was a better example of government of men rather than by law than the Trade Expansion Act, 1962.

Already we see the dictatorial aspects of this law as the President or his appointees can enact trade restrictions, voluntary or otherwise.

Already we see the avenue cleared for increased trade with the Communist satellites, so our dollars go to support their economies.

The imbalance of payments will accelerate with the further drain on our gold, all at the whim of the President or his associates. Meanwhile, we do not know who will make up the Common

A2358

A WISE U.S. POLICY

Many Americans doubtless find it rather odd that the Government should, as it says it plans to do, take every step necessary to keep Cuban refugee groups from raiding Cuba from U.S. territory. It is a fair guess that there is much sympathy for the idea of looking the other way and letting the refugees do what damage they can.

Fortunately, such emotional thinking has not guided official policy. For the danger in private military action against Cuba is far greater to the United States than it is to Cuba.

The explanation for this is not complex. Every such incident carries in it the seeds of outright confrontation with the Soviet Union. Any such confrontation should be on our initiative. We cannot afford to be pushed into perilous situations by the actions—irresponsible, however well motivated—of Cuban patriots.

National Award for Harrisburg Newspaper

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 2, 1963

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on April 20, a well-deserved tribute was paid to the Patriot-News, a Harrisburg, Pa., newspaper which won the National Headliner Award for consistently outstanding editorial pages.

As a regular reader of the Patriot-News and as a former printer and newspaperman, I consider the Patriot-News to be one of the better newspapers of our country.

This newspaper is not published in my district but its good reputation is known far and wide in the State of Pennsylvania.

Its criticism of public officials has been constructive. It shows no political bias or partiality. Its editorial page is excellent. It presents various points of view in addition to publishing its own well-written, informative, and wholesome editorials.

In these days of confusion and increasing criticism of our democratic system of government, by forces opposed to progress, it is truly a pleasure to congratulate the Harrisburg Patriot-News for its devotion to responsible commentary on current events and for its receipt of this well-deserved award.

I request unanimous consent that the following article, "National Award To Be Given Patriot-News Editorial Page," from the April 6 edition of the Harrisburg Patriot-News be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

"CONSISTENTLY OUTSTANDING": NATIONAL AWARD TO BE GIVEN PATRIOT-NEWS EDITORIAL PAGE

The National Headliner Award, won this year by the Patriot-News for "consistently outstanding editorial pages," will be presented to James R. Doran, editor, at a gathering of the National Headliners Club on April 20 at Atlantic City.

The decision, announced yesterday, marks the first time the award for editorial

page excellence has been won by a Pennsylvania newspaper.

On the same occasion, 26 Headliner medals will be presented to other winners in the nationwide newspaper, magazine, radio, and television competition.

The Patriot-News editorial page staff consists of George Draut, chief editorial writer, and editorial writers Bern Sharfman, James Welsh, and Paul Beers.

Other top winners in this year's National Headliner competition included the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution—a special citation for its golden anniversary Sunday magazine edition. The Constitution pioneered in the newspaper Sunday magazine field.

Newsweek magazine was awarded the honors for outstanding coverage of a major news event by a national magazine.

The Dallas (Tex.) Morning News was the newspaper winner for outstanding major news coverage for its reporting of the Billie Sol Estes case.

The award for outstanding public service went to the Miami (Fla.) Herald for its "Operation Amigo," a campaign of bringing Central American students into the United States to combat Russian airlifts of the same student groups.

Frank McGee, of the National Broadcasting Co., became the second man in the history of the awards to become a winner in both radio and television newscasting. The other man was Edward R. Murrow who won in both radio and TV at CBS. McGee won the network radio newscasting award in 1958, and this year was voted the medal for consistently outstanding TV network newscasting and shared honors with the NBC news department for consistently outstanding radio network newscasting.

Other individual awards:

Raymond R. Coffey of the Chicago Daily News, outstanding coverage of a major news event for his stories on the University of Mississippi campus riots. Some of Coffey's dispatches have appeared in the Evening News which is served by the Chicago Daily News Service.

Hugh Mulligan, the Associated Press, generally outstanding feature writing.

United Press International photographers Joel Landau for his sports action picture of the Emil Griffith-Kid Paret fight and Joel Schrank for his picture of survivors receiving last rites at the Idlewild, N.Y., airport crash scene.

Bill Beall, of the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, feature picture.

Charles O. Bissell, of the Nashville Tennessean, for consistently outstanding editorial page cartoons.

Worth Bingham, of the Louisville (Ky.) Times for his news feature series, "Our Costly Congress," which was reprinted in the Patriot.

Charles E. Teeple, Louisville Times, outstanding special feature columns.

Joe Aaron, Evansville (Ind.) Courier, best local interest columns.

Dallas Reporter Raises Questions About Public Attitude Toward Kennedy Proposals

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, it may well be that in his apparent lack of understanding of the people, President Kennedy does not realize the grassroots

opposition to his ever increasing demands for more and more Federal spending. I have found, in traveling to almost every section of the Nation, that the people are far more aware of the dangers connected with unlimited spending, inflation, and the drain on our gold supply than is the administration. In my opinion the people of this country are not willing to accept a socialist dictatorship which is bound to result from the continued expansion of welfare programs and Federal controls.

President Kennedy either does not realize this mood on the part of the people or does not care about it because he continues to advocate more welfare programs, more centralization of power in the Federal Government, more spending.

The following article written by Robert Baskin, head of the Washington bureau of the Dallas Morning News, warns that the mood of the people may not support President Kennedy's demands and I hope that the Members of the House have been able to learn more about the attitude of the people at home during this past week:

[From the Dallas Morning News, Apr. 15, 1963]

FEW BILLS PASSED NOT SIGN OF FAILURE BY 88TH CONGRESS

(By Robert E. Baskin)

WASHINGTON.—The much-afflicted 88th Congress straggled home over the weekend for the annual Easter recess, apparently in an uncertain mood and undetermined about what to do in the rest of this session.

Its record so far has been under fire from a number of sources. Overlooked, undoubtedly, is the fact that congressional inaction may be an indication that the legislators are really doing their work.

Passage of a lot of bills is no criterion by which to judge the Congress. So far this Congress has passed very few. This, under no circumstances, should be viewed as a failure.

In all the avalanche of words that comes out of Washington, it is frequently overlooked that House and Senate committees have been rather steadily at work for some time now.

If it is decided that a bill should not go to the floor, that is a committee judgment under a procedure that has long been the rule of Congress. Somewhere the great mass of bills that flow into the hoppers of the two Houses must be sifted out. Yet there are critics who say that everything must come to the floor for a decisive vote.

Congressional critics are crying very loudly these days for reform of Congress. This demand has a good deal of support from the Kennedy administration, whose bright young men want things decided quickly and in their favor.

But Congress obviously is not sure of the temper of the country. The Kennedy administration, coming as it does largely from the Northeastern part of the Nation, has no particular knowledge on this subject. Congress is not willing to take its word that this or that piece of legislation is precisely what the Nation wants. In many ways there are signs that the country at large is quite satisfied with the status quo and desires no "get this country moving again" projects.

Aside from pockets of depression, mostly in the East, the Nation is faring well economically. But President Kennedy frequently talks as if this country was in the depths of a dreadful depression.

The measures he has sent Congress are mostly New Dealish in concept. The central theme is pump priming. The House has just approved another \$450 million for a WPA-

There will be no stone marker over Captain Cantwell's grave. But there will be memory in the sunlit blue of the Pacific off the Golden Gate. There will be remembrance in the white sails of passing ships, and the silver hulls of the soaring clippers; and by night in the shining stars. Distant foghorns and the toll of buoy bells will bring echoes from his friendly soul.

And when in lonely seas, hard-pressed sailors battle with the storm until some swift cutter brings rescue, thoughtful men will know that there is in fact a Coast Guard spirit, a spirit born of brave lives through 15 past decades of Capt. John Cassin Cantwell and 10,000 other officers not unlike him.

HARRY W. FRANTZ.

WASHINGTON, November 23, 1940.

Phony Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the propaganda attending the President Kennedy to the rescue of Mrs. Martin Luther King episode badly needed to be fumigated, and to that end the Washington Evening Star has rendered a good public service with the following editorial:

JUST A BIT PHONY

If one is merely a reader of headlines, an Associated Press story from Atlanta could be taken to mean that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., now jailed in Birmingham, Ala., was able to call his wife, who has just had a baby, only through the gracious intervention of President Kennedy. To the extent that the story conveyed this impression, it was a phony.

What happened, as far as we can find out, is that the President, according to Mrs. King, "had been in touch with Birmingham." This is a bit on the vague side. Mrs. King added, however, that the President phoned and told her: "I've arranged for your husband to telephone you very shortly. You probably know we sent FBI agents in last night to talk with him and he's all right."

Having in mind that the burdens of the Presidency are said to be the heaviest in the world, it is good to know that Mr. Kennedy, even while on a brief vacation, at Palm Beach, could spare the time and energy to intercede in the Rev. Mr. King's behalf. The only thing that concerns us is whether the President really did much, and if so what it was that he did.

To the best of our knowledge, no one in Birmingham was preventing the Rev. Mr. King from calling his wife. In fact, police chief Jamie Moore, who enjoys a local reputation in Birmingham as an honest man, says that the Kings talked to each other on the day before the President-to-the-rescue story appeared, and that the telephone conversation between husband and wife "was not arranged by Kennedy or anyone connected with the President."

All of which causes us to wonder. If President Kennedy called Mrs. King and told her he had "been in touch with Birmingham," we certainly do not question the accuracy of the statement. But what, precisely, does this mean? With whom did the President get in touch? Was it this getting in "touch" which made it possible for the Rev. Dr. King to call his wife? We doubt it very much. And we wonder what this business is all about. Could it possibly have anything to do with such things as votes, glibble people, or politics?

Selden and Americas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Committee is headed by the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR. It has been my privilege for several years to serve on this very important subcommittee of which Mr. SELDEN is the chairman. All of us who serve here know full well the fine leadership, the dedication, the intelligence, the independence, and the well-reasoned attitude of the able gentleman from Alabama.

In the field of Latin-American affairs and particularly with respect to the problem of Cuba, he has worked very diligently and earned our respect. He speaks not only in his own right, but with the full support of those Members who have been privileged to serve with him on the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.

As chairman of this subcommittee, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] has always waded into the controversial, sometimes complicated and always difficult problems of U.S. relationships with Latin America. Always, the subcommittee hearings and reports have been of substance. His work, and that of the subcommittee, is highly regarded, and it should be. Recently, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] as chairman of the subcommittee, issued two reports: "Castro Communist Subversion in the Western Hemisphere" and "Special Study Mission to Latin America: Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica." Both of these reports are the result of a great deal of hard work and considerable study. They have received national recognition.

It is pleasant to know that Mr. SELDEN's efforts have been properly recognized by the people of his own State. A good job well done is reward enough in itself. However, it certainly cannot be amiss to know that the plaudits of your constituents have been accorded you and are likewise well deserved. I am particularly pleased, therefore, to bring to the attention of my colleagues three editorials from highly regarded newspapers in the State of Alabama which have analyzed the recent reports of the subcommittee and have spoken in commendation of the efforts of the chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. I am sure that my colleagues will join with me in gratification at the well deserved praise and recognition of Mr. SELDEN's efforts and accomplishments.

The editorials follow:

[From the Mobile Press, Apr. 18, 1963]

SELDEN AND AMERICAS

Although his position has often been in sharp conflict with that of the Kennedy administration, Representative ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, of Alabama, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, urges that Americans forget the quarrels of

the past and nestle down to hindrance of Communist subversion in the hemisphere.

In the relatively brief period in which he has served in Congress and as chairman of an important committee, Mr. SELDEN has gained a solid grasp on the problems that face the hemisphere and has never failed to speak his mind.

He has been vigorously calling for more concerted action on the part of Americans to thwart communism in Cuba since as far back as 1960.

But the Greensboro Congressman, who upon the invitation of President Kennedy accompanied the Chief Executive to the San Jose Conference, now considers the hindrance of subversion the No. 1 job of all the Americas.

"In short," he declared in a talk at Livingston this week, "Khrushchev and Castro know that an open Communist military assault on any nation in this hemisphere would demand a firm and direct response by the United States and the Organization of American States. Communist strategy therefore is to gain their hemispheric goals by subtler means."

He pointed to a finding of the subcommittee as follows:

"The subcommittee addressed itself to the current theory that economic aid alone can counter this Communist offensive threat. Success of the Alliance for Progress, the subcommittee found, is endangered by continuing Castro Communist efforts to increase political tensions in Latin America. Therefore, long range economic plans must be preceded and complemented by immediate steps to meet the threat of subversive aggression."

"Unless such steps are taken, the Alliance for Progress is doomed to failure. Only after the threat of Castro and communism is eliminated from the hemisphere can Latin America move forward politically and economically."

In our estimation, this is a splendid example of putting first things first. It is a highly logical approach which President Kennedy and leaders of Latin American nations can hardly fail to adopt.

[From the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News,

Apr. 18, 1963]

SPEAKING FIRMLY ON CUBA

People of this congressional district have a right to be proud of Representative ARMISTEAD SELDEN and the important position he has achieved in Inter-American Affairs.

Mr. SELDEN might be called a country lawyer, but if so, the term would be in tribute and not in criticism. He is close to the people. But as a Member of Congress he has grown in stature and in value to his Nation through his interest in issues relating to the Americas.

One of our most pressing problems now is what to do about Cuba. We have a cancer growing there. Agreement is universal that such a condition is undesirable. There is some disagreement over what to do about it.

Mr. SELDEN is chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs. He has made several study missions to Latin America. Perhaps his understanding of the problems of Latin American peoples is the keenest in our Congress. When he expresses an opinion, it is backed up by knowledge and information.

Recently, Mr. SELDEN appeared at a dinner meeting of the Livingston-North Sumter County Chamber of Commerce where he spoke about the Latin American problem as it affects the United States. He made specific recommendations on what to do about Cuba, following the line laid down in his committee's report after study and after hearings in Washington.

Mr. SELDEN rightly contends that we should spend little time arguing over the mistakes of the past, and that our energy and effort should be aimed at making de-

ing the Naval Reserve Training Camps at San Pedro, before his retirement, with rank of commander, in 1920.

I had known Captain Cantwell in Havana and Washington, and exchanged letters with him through many years. When I heard of his last rendezvous, outside the Golden Gate, I felt an impulse to write of him, for I felt that he typified many hundreds of excellent but little-known American officers whose lives have built the fine tradition of America's oldest maritime military organization. This organization, incidentally, had its beginning just 150 years ago, when President George Washington on August 4, 1790, signed the act creating the Revenue Marine Service of the United States.

Millions of inland Americans no less than folks along the seacoasts have a certain affection for the Coast Guard, derived from occasional news dispatches of ship rescues, ice patrols, life-saving incidents, or marine exploration. But the Guard has rarely dramatized even its greater personalities, whose names have slight public currency. Thus the name of the good old *Bear* is legion, but who can remember one of its many commanders?

At Coast Guard headquarters I was permitted to consult two fat files of accumulated service letters, reports, and miscellany concerning Captain Cantwell. From several hours' boring, I derived the salient impressions that he was a very able seaman, a very loyal shipmate, and an excellent writer. His reports about the saving of the *Nunivak* on the Pacific coast, and of the salvage of the *Manning*, in Alaskan waters, are rare accounts of danger and bravery at sea, and one of the last notations on Captain Cantwell's service record.

From yellowing letters known only to their authors and the file clerks there came the spell of days long gone at sea; of hurricane roaring off Cape Hatteras, of storm-tossed cutter in the Bering Sea, of half-wrecked schooners waiting for rescue. From stern episodes of hard life and bold adventure, there remained only such physical mementoes:

A letter from Pendleton Bros., ship brokers, at New York, dated February 13, 1909, which said: "We write to express our appreciation and gratitude to Capt. J. C. Cantwell and officers of the Revenue Cutter *Onondaga* for the seamanship and ability that was displayed in finding at sea and towing into Norfolk the wrecked schooner *William J. Lermond*. The vessel was totally dismantled, rudder gone, and it was the best case of handling a derelict of this kind that we have ever known."

A letter from Rev. John W. Chapman of Anvik, Alaska, August 23, 1900: "I write to express the warm appreciation of the people of this place of the action of Lieutenant Cantwell, commanding the U.S. Steamer *Nunivak*, in stopping to give us the assistance of a physician, and to render whatever help was in his power at a time of unusual distress. I have never, during an experience of 13 years in this place, known a season of such universal and serious sickness among the natives as the present."

A letter roughly penned from Leon R. Swift, Master of schooner *Charles Whittemore*, dated Norfolk, Va., November 19, 1910: "Dear Sir: Just a few words to thank you and your officers for the kindness shown me, in towing my vessel to a safe anchorage when I was lying at the mercy of a dangerous sea with a disabled rudder, your work and the work of the Revenue Cutter service is far beyond words of expression and I shall always think kindly of yourself and officers as long as I remain in the Merchant service hoping that I may be able to do as much for you."

Dozens of similar letters might be adduced, which although addressed to this particular officer would, in fact, be tribute to the

great humanitarian organization whose spirit he shared. The motto of that organization is "Semper Paratus"—always ready.

Regarded historically, Captain Cantwell's most distinctive service to the Coast Guard probably was in Alaska. He served there during years when the great empire of the north was only beginning to come within the ken of the American people, and also during the period when the gold rush caused strange migration to the northlands.

He first visited Alaska in 1885 while serving as junior officer on the cutter *Corwin*, in a region embracing the entire coastline of the territory from Dixon's Entrance to Point Barrow. In 1899, he was commander of the *Nunivak*, which cruised from San Francisco to a Yukon River station, thought to be the first great transoceanic trip ever made by a river steamer.

"Prior to the voyage of the *Nunivak* some 25 or 30 steamers of this class had undertaken the voyage from ports on Puget Sound, and of this number fully 50 percent had either been lost en route or else had arrived at their destination so badly injured as to require extensive repairs to be made on them before they could be operated," said the official report.

"It should, then, be a matter of congratulation with the Treasury Department, as it is one of just pride to the officers who took part in this expedition, that after traversing over 4,000 miles of ocean navigation, in spite of gales of wind and the unavoidable mishaps incident to such a voyage, the *Nunivak* finally reached St. Michael practically ready for immediate duty and in as good condition as when she left San Francisco."

Characteristic of his generous nature, one of Captain Cantwell's difficulties in writing a report was to abridge the tributes which he invariably made to his fellow officers and crew. Witness a letter to headquarters after return from the Yukon Station, which said in part:

"Finally, I desire to thank each of the officers of the service who were attached to the *Nunivak* while under my command for their unwavering zeal, courage, and efficiency in the performance of the many novel duties which fell to them during the progress of the cruise. I gratefully acknowledge their untiring devotion to duty under the most trying and arduous conditions, and, while it is difficult to mention individuals without apparently detracting from the services of the whole body of officers, I desire to call attention of the Department especially to the remarkable journey of over 1,000 miles across the country, made in the dead by winter by Assistant Engineer Lewton, R.C.S. (Revenue Cutter Service), in obedience to orders to join the *Nunivak*, which orders were sent with the expectation that the vessel would be met at St. Michael; to the remarkable series of observations of meteorological conditions, amounting to nearly 30,000 different observations, which were made under the personal direction of Lt. Eugene Blake, R.C.S., and which entailed an enormous amount of labor and constant attention, and to the excellent pilot charts of the Yukon and Koyukuk Rivers made by Lts. B. H. Camden, R.C.S., and Eugene Blake, R.C.S."

Captain Cantwell's prophetic vision of the territory of Alaska, only now approaching realization, was written in 1901 as follows:

"From our experience in the country, covering a period of over 2 years, and from information gathered from various authentic sources, I am irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that the winter climate of the interior of Alaska is superior in many respects to that of many of our Northern States. With cheaper means of transportation, by which the necessities of life can be procured at less cost, and better facilities for communication with the outside world, there is no good reason why this little known and

greatly misrepresented country should not become the abiding place of a large and prosperous community.

"God grant that the day is not far distant when the youth of this country, whose forefathers hewed from the icebound shores of Maine and Massachusetts the foundations of the great Republic, will awake from their lethargic dream of life under the tropic skies of the land of manana and set their faces toward our northern province. Here, amidst sterner but healthier surroundings, may they make their homes and perpetuate a race of fearless, self-reliant, and strenuous men and women of the type which—

"Born of the hulls and nurtured by the winds,
Knows only Freedom's mighty song of life."

Ability to observe natural phenomena is a fine index to a seaman's mind, and the capacity to narrate such observations skillfully is a rare gift. Lieutenant Cantwell demonstrated such talents in the following account of the Arctic winter and aurora borealis:

"The end of November 1899, found us in the midst of an Arctic winter. Snow fell with more or less regularity during this and the preceding month until now the country was covered to a depth of 3 feet or more with a mantle of spotless white. Every branch and twig of the smaller growth of trees, the willows, and alders and birches, were sheathed in a gleaming armor of ice, and the tall, somber spruces carried upon their dark, spreading branches each its burden of fleecy snow. Hardly a breath of air stirred in the woods, and the lagging sun rose each day like a great silver disk and ran its course across a sky that was absolutely free from clouds. Long after the sun disappears below the crests of the mountains which lie to the south the radiance of his setting bathes the sky in tender color, now green, and pink, now softest lilac, shot with silver threads, and gradually as night comes on the more delicate colors fade away and insensibly the whole southern sky darkens to a splendid purple, lighted up by a host of trembling stars.

"The month of November was marked by the most brilliant displays of the aurora borealis observed during our stay in the North. Some of these displays were so remarkable that we would frequently leave our warm quarters to watch the magnificent spectacle with fascinated interest while it lasted or until the intense cold would cause us to seek shelter.

"As a usual thing the auroral displays were observed to be most brilliant just previous to a period of lower temperatures; but they were rarely seen during the prevalence of excessively cold weather. The phenomena of the aurora have so often been described by abler writers that I shall not attempt to do so here. There are no words at my command adequate for the purpose. The spectacle must be seen to be fully appreciated, and for one who loves nature in all her moods nothing can be more beautiful—and at the same time so awe-inspiring—than this mystic northern light drenching the sky from the zenith to the horizon with cascades of ever-shifting color. Now set in rigid lines of prismatic hue, and again tremulous and waving in crinkling folds across the sky, festooning the firmament with clinging, silken fabrics, through which the light flows and filters with soft radiance, and again, breaking into myriads of glistening, flashing particles—a whole world of jewels to be strewn across the interspace with such reckless prodigality as to blind the eye and confuse the mind and to make any mere word description of its wonderful beauty weak and futile."

cisions to protect our future. He believes the best way to handle the Cuban problem is to quarantine it.

Specifically, the recommendations are that the President use whatever means may be necessary to prevent the spread of subversive activities from Cuba; that we be ready to help, with military force if needed, any nation endangered by Cuban Communist subversive force; that hemispheric security be strengthened, and that the United States should seek total economic and diplomatic quarantine of Cuba.

In such recommendations, we are offered a course requiring courage, ingenuity and carrying considerable risk. But the danger of not being positive in the Cuban crisis is much greater.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Apr. 17, 1963]

REPRESENTATIVE SELDEN'S GOOD WORK

Alabama's Representative ARMISTEAD SELDEN headed a subcommittee which made a study of Latin America. First reports have been issued.

The subcommittee reports that the United States has "a more favorable position in Latin America than it has had for many years." But it also says that our neighboring countries must do more to help themselves. Particularly, the governments must "capture the allegiance of their people by being responsive to their needs." Unless this is done, says the group, then there will continue to be instability among our Latin associates.

The report, from press summaries, appears well balanced and helpful. It sees and notes good; it identifies the area of fault.

The News believes all Alabamians are proud of the work ARMISTEAD SELDEN and his subcommittee performed. The matter of communism in Latin America is very serious. And it is a problem which has led some, at least, to exploitation of difficulties. There has been more than a little political purpose behind some prompt criticisms. But, as has been observed elsewhere, there is fault enough to go around.

Alabama people who know ARMISTEAD SELDEN are not surprised at the balanced nature of the report. It is, however, desirable to footnote that, in dealing with a subject which some might have been tempted to maneuver for their own particular ends, the Selden committee exercised prudence and a genuine statesmanship.

Tax Chaos Threatens 140,000 Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the serious impact that the new regulations on expense accounts are having on one of America's basic industries, namely, the food-dispensing industry, is graphically described in an article titled "Tax Chaos Threatens 140,000 Jobs," which appeared in a special edition of Hospitality magazine published in Chicago.

I am taking the liberty of calling this very important article to the attention of my colleagues because I feel that every single congressional district in this Nation is affected by this crisis which is now facing the hotel, motel, and restaurant industry in America.

This particular industry does more than \$83 billion worth of business in America every year. The magnitude of this figure shows that this is a basic industry in our country, and when this overall volume begins to lag the effect on the entire Nation's economy could indeed be catastrophic.

I am pleased to note that Internal Revenue Service Commissioner Mortimer Caplin has announced public hearings will be held on May 6 and 7 here in Washington, at which time spokesmen for the industry will have an opportunity to comment on the most recent proposed rulemaking regulations regarding expenses announced by the IRS.

Mr. Speaker, the Hospitality magazine article follows:

CRITICAL CONSEQUENCES MULTIPLYING RAPIDLY

New Federal tax rules on expense account spending, overzealous interpretation of them by officials, conflicting statements and misunderstanding have created a situation in the hospitality industry that may reach the proportions of a catastrophe unless action is taken quickly to remedy and clarify it.

Already the situation has produced—

Reductions of from 10 to 55 percent in food service sales.

A drop of 4 to 28 percent in hotel and motel room occupancy.

Cut of 10 to 30 percent in convention attendance and 10 to 25 percent in future bookings.

A 20-percent slash in the demand for beef by restaurants and hotels.

Lessened demand for coffee and other basic supplies used to feed business guests.

By the end of the year, consequences will include:

Elimination of \$666 million in restaurant sales, about a third of normal expense account spending, half of which goes to workers in wages.

Certain failure for several hundred formerly successful restaurants and hotels.

And an addition to already record unemployment rolls of 140,000 men and women whose jobs will be wiped out by these failures and by sharp reductions in other operations.

These are facts and figures—not estimates or guesses but hard statements determined by surveys of the hospitality industry conducted by the hospitality group of magazines, the National Restaurant Association, the American Motor Hotel Association, and the American Hotel and Motel Association—which have resulted from the nationwide fear and confusion produced among businessmen and companies by the new expense account tax legislation and the interpretation of the new law by the Internal Revenue Service.

Business and industry, fearful of running afoul of the new law, have cut back business trips and expense account entertaining by their salesmen and sales and manufacturing officials.

Employees of these companies, afraid various expenditures will not be allowed, have cut back further in many cases.

WIVES LEFT AT HOME—THEATERS, SHOPS HIT

Wives formerly taken to meetings have been left at home, reducing double occupancy of rooms with a consequent reduction in the room rental rate, halving the meals consumed in restaurants and hotel dining rooms and at banquets by the double attendance, and eliminating thousands of dollars spent by them in the retail stores of every big convention city.

Harsh statements by the Government on enforcement of the new rules started the action that is swiftly rolling into a catastrophe.

A lack of understanding on the part of the businessmen affected hastened it along.

Failure to remedy it quickly may complete it.

Besides the results mentioned:

The entertainment business—theaters, night clubs—is hurting.

With a lessened demand for beef, cattle growers are being hit.

Farmers, with a lessened demand for raw foods by hotels and restaurants, will be hurt.

Investors in thousands of operations will see their investments wiped out by failures or devalued by profit margins critically reduced by loss of business due to the tax legislation.

While Treasury officials say the new rules aren't as harsh as the public seems to think, many people apparently do not want to be bothered by all the recordkeeping the tax collectors apparently now require to support expense account deductions.

What was intended to be a move to end expense account living may result in the loss of more revenue through loss of taxable income, failures of business, and loss of jobs than will be gained by the new legislation.

A survey by the hospitality group of magazines of restaurants catering to the businessman and hotels and motor hotels where many conventions and meetings are normally held, showed the figures cited on the opening page of this article. Excerpts from many of the replies will be found at end of article.

A survey of 387 restaurants in 40 cities across the country by the National Restaurant Association shows that business in January and February was 16.4 percent below the same 2 months of 1962 and that employment in these restaurants was down 11 percent, or 22,000 jobs, based on a 1962 payroll of 200,000 in these operations. Dinner business was down by a third.

The average restaurant check was lower, and waiters reported that tips were smaller. There were also more single guests because of wives left at home.

A drop of \$666 million in 1963 restaurant revenue is seen by the National Restaurant Association as a result of the cutback in expense account spending, with half of this amount representing wages that normally go to restaurant workers.

Proof that the drop in restaurant revenue is due to curbs on business spending is provided by operations such as those in Kansas City where a restaurant operator owns a coffee shop and an expense account restaurant across the street. With the same location, same weather, same management, there was a 20-percent difference in their performance in January.

Select Restaurant and Hotels of Washington, which handles credit charges for over 50 restaurants in that State, reported a drop of 15 percent in business as a result of the new tax legislation and uncertainty regarding it.

A survey by the Restaurant Association of Maryland in the Baltimore area indicated a 14- to 22-percent drop in gross business representing a \$190,000 loss, precipitating a substantial layoff and further aggravating an already bad unemployment problem in that area.

With considerable business lost due to the new restriction, a well-known Washington, D.C., restaurant reported guest checks for food and liquor off 40 percent among those business people still patronizing the operation. Total sales were reported down from 50 to 55 percent.

At the peak of the winter season in Florida, a famous Fort Lauderdale restaurant reported sales down 4.4 percent in January, 7.5 percent in February, and 12 percent for the first 4 days in March.

A Chicago restaurant which has experienced spiraling sales since 1952 stated that

business the past 60 days was down 10 percent.

Lowest January sales in 5 years were reported from a San Francisco restaurant.

MAY CLOSE NIGHTCLUB—END \$20,000 PAYROLL

With better entertainment features, business in a well-known supper room of a Dallas hotel was off by 50 percent since January 1 with a consequent drop in employment. As a result, this hotel said it may wipe out its nightclub operation, abolishing a union payroll of \$20,000 per month.

With local business up 7 percent, a San Francisco hotel noted that convention attendance and occupancy declined 30 percent, due in a great measure to wives not attending the meetings. Convention bookings also were down, food sales dropped 20 percent and beverage sales dropped 11 percent.

In Boston, one of the city's large hotels reported food sales for the first 2 months of 1963 down \$50,300, including \$47,604 in banquet business; convention occupancy 8,765 nights compared with 10,205 in 1962 and total occupancy 60.4 percent compared with 66.48 percent a year ago.

DISASTER AHEAD FOR MUSICIANS, WAITRESSES

Layoffs of musicians, growing each day, may reach disastrous proportions as reduced volume forces the closing of food rooms where they provided live background music or live entertainment, and other rooms are forced to reduce the size of musical groups to meet lower income. Adding to the gravity of the situation are the cancellations of many private parties where music was used.

Typical of the situation: Three musicians and a performer laid off by one large New York City hotel with elimination of music and entertainment in one food room, with two more musicians laid off with cut in orchestra from six to four in another room. Musical trio dismissed at another hotel where food and liquor sales dropped \$10,000 a month and an even greater drop expected. Eight men in two bands on dismissal notice since March 3 in one well-known restaurant. Nightly entertainment reduced from daily to two nights a week at one hotel, from daily to one night per week at a restaurant; eight men on notice at another hotel; orchestra cut from 16 to 8 at one hotel and from 14 to 10 at another; music eliminated at eight restaurants employing 25 musicians.

Layoffs of waiters and waitresses as a result of the new rulings are growing greater, unions admit. In Chicago alone, 1,000 waiters have been laid off since the first of the year, according to a survey of 98 restaurants there. Other cities are reporting similar situations on varying scales.

More than 15,000 maids, busboys, porters, etc., and 7,000 food service workers will lose their jobs in the motel industry if the trend continues, according to S. Cooper Dawson, Jr., president of the American Motor Hotel Association, based on a survey of eight key States and chain and referral organizations. Totals for the overall lodging industry have been estimated at 60,000 jobs by the end of the year.

One referral group, representing 690 motels with over 34,000 rooms, reported a drop of 13.2 percent in room sales for the first 50 days of 1963, Mr. Dawson said.

Cutbacks in purchases by steakhouses and restaurants serving prime ribs have been felt by meat purveyors in the institutional field. A typical restaurant ordering 30 to 40 prime ribs now orders 25 to 30 at the most, one meathouse reported. Similar cases are reported by others.

LOWER PRICES AHEAD, CATTLE FEEDERS WARNED

Cattle feeders were warned by one big meat company in a half-page ad recently in the Drovers Journal that, with cattle prices already down, there may be a further decline of 20 percent unless they join in stopping the

destruction of the market for prime meat by the new expense account rules.

Conflicting statements on the tax situation are blamed for which of the confusion and fear that has hurt business in the hospitality industry. Lack of final clarification of such substantive measures as what is deductible and what is not, and defining such broad terms as "lavish" and "extravagant" entertainment is also responsible.

To eliminate some of the fear and confusion among potential business customers, individual restaurants and restaurant associations, spearheaded by the National Restaurant Association, have opened an educational drive based on the placing of small booklets and table tents in front of customers emphasizing that business meals are still deductible. The same message is provided in stuffers for envelopes mailed to customers.

Protests also have been made to congressional leaders regarding interpretations of the law that it is felt do not accurately reflect the intent of Congress when it passed the legislation.

Modification of some of the restrictions imposed last year by Congress on the tax deductibility of business entertainment and travel expenses or at least on the rigid interpretation of the law by the Internal Revenue Service was indicated early in March after a closed door meeting of the Senate Finance Committee and IRS Commissioner Mortimer Caplin, and restaurant, hotel, and motel operators can help bring this about by making committee members and their Congressmen and Senators aware of the vital necessity of taking such action.

Senator SMATHERS, Democrat, of Florida, declared at the meeting, it is reported, that the IRS has gone far beyond congressional intent by:

1. Requiring the keeping of receipts for any single travel or entertainment expense exceeding \$25.
2. Requiring "meticulous records" to document a business discussion preceding or following entertainment to make the expenditure tax deductible.
3. Requiring a description of the type of entertainment provided.
4. Requiring a listing of the names of persons entertained.
5. Establishing that an employee in some instances would have to pay taxes on his reimbursements for travel and entertainment costs that aren't allowed by IRS.

CLAIMS REGULATIONS BADLY MISUNDERSTOOD

To these statements, Mr. Caplin contended that the recordkeeping regulations are badly misunderstood. He claimed that:

1. A businessman's records do not necessarily have to contain the names of persons entertained if those names are of a confidential nature.
2. Exceptions will be allowed in the case of receipts that are difficult to obtain even where the expenditure exceeds \$25.
3. A great deal of time need not be devoted by the taxpayer to maintaining minimum records.

GRAVEST PROBLEM EVER FACED

John Green, president, American Hotel & Motel Association: "Nationwide drops in business due to the recent Internal Revenue Service regulations on travel and entertainment expenses is perhaps the gravest problem ever faced by the lodging industry. American Hotel & Motel Association, through its Washington office is in the forefront of a drive together with the many similarly affected associations to get the IRS to relax these rulings before permanent harm is done. We know that Congress did not intend IRS to create such burdensome regulations. We feel that it was the intent of Congress to eliminate excesses but that the present regulations go far beyond what was intended when the enabling legislation was passed last year. The business community is bewildered

by the regulations which have already been announced and apprehensive over what is allowed and not allowed. The results of the regulations are causing our industry to lay-off employees and in some cases shut down previously successful facilities. Members of the innkeeping industry are flooding Washington with cold, hard facts which demonstrate the bad effects these rulings have had on the industry."

MISLEADING STATEMENTS A CAUSE

Henry Montague, president, National Restaurant Association:

"The confusing and misleading statements on the expense account law are already beginning to have a detrimental effect on the Nation's economy. Misinformation regarding the law has hurt business in many areas of the country. This has already forced workers to be laid off, thereby adding to the Nation's serious unemployment situation.

"Although the new regulations on expense accounts are just taking effect, surveys we have taken of leading restaurants in major cities on the east coast, south, middle west, and west coast report that January business is down due to confusion over the new law. This decrease in restaurant business has forced layoffs in many areas. Actually, the increase in unemployment in the restaurant industry is only a small segment of the overall problem. There are 1,600,000 employees in the restaurant industry, making it the fourth largest industry in the Nation.

"Directly supplying the needs of the restaurant industry are many other workers in the raising, processing, distribution, and preparation of quality fruits, vegetables, meats, bakery goods, dairy products, as well as all types of supplies and equipment used in the restaurant industry. A substantial reduction in the volume of business in restaurants not only forces layoffs in this industry but causes a chain reaction which has a direct impact on employment in all related areas of the food-service industry. This adds to the already serious problem of employment throughout the Nation.

"One of the great traditions which has helped the growth of American industry is the informal business meal whereby a businessman uses the friendliness of a restaurant meal to create good will which may ultimately help his business. This good-will entertaining is normally done in the better restaurants. These establishments pay top prices for the premium quality of meat and other foods they serve. A substantial reduction in the volume of foods (meat and produce) used in these restaurants causes disruption in the entire marketing structure and pricing schedules of all foods. Eventually, this hurts every consumer as well as the farmers, ranchers, meat packers, and food processors.

"It is clearly evident from the record in both the House and the Senate that Congress did not intend for the new income tax law to cause severe dislocations in the Nation's economic progress, but misleading statements and confusion concerning the law are already having a detrimental effect on business and causing unemployment in many areas."

TWENTY-TWO THOUSAND TO LOSE MOTEL JOBS

S. Cooper Dawson, Jr., president, American Motor Hotel Association:

"A drop of 16.3 percent in room, food and beverage sales in motels is reported for the first 2 months of this year as compared to January and February sales a year ago.

"This sales lag is directly attributable to curtailment of expense account spending, and if this trend continues, more than 22,000 employees in the motel industry will lose their jobs as a result of decreased sales. About 7,000 of these are food service workers and about 15,000 are maids, busboys, porters, etc.

The indicated article follows:
[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 8, 1963]

PANAMA SLOWS REVOLUTIONISTS
(By Ralph K. Skinner)

PANAMA CITY.—Over the past few years, there has been much talk in Panama of a need for revolution, for drastic social and political changes.

Despite the continuing clamor of opposition leaders, the possibility of immediate action here seems to be fading.

The revolutionary movement received a setback recently when political firebrand Roberto (Tito) Arias, of the publishing family, was jailed and charged with complicity in the smuggling of hundreds of cases of liquor. He is the son of the late former President Dr. Harmodio Arias.

Tito Arias was identified by the Government as a leader in planning the invasion of Panama by Castro fighters in 1959. Later that year he participated in an abortive revolutionary attempt which forced him to spend 15 months in exile.

An avowed revolutionist, Tito Arias is known to have connections with Fidel Castro. He is a close associate of Deputy Thelma King, Panama's outspoken legislator who is a close friend of Dr. Castro. Deputy King visits Dr. Castro in Cuba so frequently that she is considered a possible liaison between Dr. Castro and prominent revolution-oriented persons in Panama.

Many of Deputy King's sympathizers and followers have received special training in Cuba. She, herself, is dedicated to revolution as the only remedy for Panama's problems.

Deputy King, speaking over her own station, Radio Tribuna, suggested on April 1 the establishment of diplomatic relations between Panama and the Soviet Union. She has visited the Soviet Union and is a frequent apologist for that nation. She pointed to acceptance of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev or members of his family at the White House and the Vatican as a pattern which Panama should follow.

In reiterating her demand for a revolution in Panama, Deputy King makes full use of her immunity from arrest as a member of the National Assembly.

Her primary target is the incumbent Chirri administration which she claims exploits the masses and enriches the monopolists who control the country. Her outspoken attacks have given her a following among the working class, the unemployed and the "humildes" in Panama.

Also associated with Deputy King is Andres Galván, self-appointed spokesman for the working class. When he returned from an extended tour of Communist China and other Communist areas, Mr. Galván stormily denounced the United States. Since then he has taken another long trip to Cuba (he says he also visited Guinea and Ghana) as the guest of Dr. Castro.

Changes resulted from this last trip. Mr. Galván talked more mildly to this correspondent recently, discussing Panama social conditions. He spoke, however, of a Panama revolution as the only way of establishing an honest government here. He accused the United States of support in the oligarchies generally in power throughout Latin America.

The revolutionary movement in Panama lacks internal spontaneity and untainted leadership. The self-proclaimed revolutionists appear concerned with the achievement of personal ambitions for power.

From Cuba to Laos U.S. Foreign Policy Smacks of Appeasement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE MEADER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article which appeared in the April 15, 1963 issue of Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly:

FROM CUBA TO LAOS—U.S. FOREIGN POLICY SMACKS OF APPEASEMENT

The Kennedy administration, as its most ardent critics must admit, has consistently displayed admirable skill in the use of words. Last week the President himself was in rare rhetorical form. After keeping the Nation in mounting suspense for 36 hours, Mr. Kennedy on Thursday snapped the tension, and sent the stock market skyrocketing, with one of the most adroitly phrased political pronouncements on record. While remaining firmly opposed to across-the-board increases in steel prices, he stated, the powers that be are willing to accept selective adjustments up or down, as prompted by changes in supply and demand. The day before the steel crisis, at a ceremony conferring honorary American citizenship upon Sir Winston Churchill, the Chief Executive rose to the occasion no less nobly. In a glowing tribute to his new compatriot, the President said in part: "In the dark days and darker nights when England stood alone, he mobilized the English language and sent it into battle. Whenever and wherever tyranny threatened, he has always championed liberty."

In saluting the verbal prowess of Sir Winston, the President was speaking not merely as head of state but also as one professional to another. Since taking office John F. Kennedy more than once has sought to rally his countrymen with stirring calls to arms; at times he has succeeded in sounding almost Churchillian. Unfortunately, however, the resemblance ends right there. For in translating words into deeds, the Kennedy administration has acted not with the boldness of the great Prime Minister, but with the irresolution and timidity of his inglorious predecessor. In Latin America, Southeast Asia and in the heart of Europe, the White House, despite an occasional flash of spirit, has been pursuing a policy of appeasement. Day by day and step by step, in consequence, the Communist tyranny has gained ground; the forces of freedom, contrariwise, have been in steady retreat. In a desperate quest for peace in our time, as the author of "Why England Slept" must know, Neville Chamberlain unwittingly paved the way for World War II. To prevent history from writing a catastrophic sequel, the President and his official family would do well to learn from it.

A prerequisite to learning, of course, is the willingness to face facts. On this score the White House and its advisers have proved sadly deficient. A case in point is Walt W. Rostow, a man whose global knowledge of economic and political affairs is matched only by his apparent lack of insight. In a far-ranging speech in Philadelphia recently on the cold war, Professor Rostow (who serves as counselor and chairman of the

Policy Planning Council, Department of State) reported progress on all fronts. To be sure, he conceded, "none of the crises on the national agenda as of January 1961 has been finally and satisfactorily settled. The treaty arrangements in Laos remain precarious, still violated by the continued presence in that country of Vietminh units under the control of Hanoi. . . . West Berlin stands firm, confident and prosperous, but the threat to its future remain. And evidently the crisis over Cuba is not at an end." Nonetheless, in a stunning nonsequitur he proceeded to conclude: "We have achieved something substantial in these 26 months: the momentum of Khrushchev's post-sputnik offensive has been halted, and in vast areas which have been threatened by it free men breathe easier."

More dangerous nonsense would be hard to come by these days. Under the hapless leadership of the New Frontier, as even its staunch supporters now concede, the free world has suffered a dreary succession of defeats. Regarding Cuba, for example, William V. Shannon, Washington columnist for the leftwing New York Post, recently pulled no punches. Two years ago, he observed last week, "a brave and active underground movement against Castro was spreading. Exiles in Florida were alive with hope for his early overthrow." Since then, however, their hopes have been dashed by one betrayal after another, from the Bay of Pigs to the incredible blockade imposed by the U.S. Coast Guard, not against the Communist regime in Havana, but against its mortal foes. Such perfidy now has led to the rupture of friendly ties between Washington and the Cubans in exile, a denunciation which, wrote Mr. Shannon scathingly, "Brings to a close a cycle of defeat, political ignorance and moral confusion. Everything has now been surrendered, including honor."

In Laos, too, the once firm U.S. posture has developed a perilous sag. Until 1961 this country actively supported a regime in Vientiane which, despite its defects, was pro-Western and willing to resist the thrust of Communist aggression, launched years before by native Reds aided and abetted by north Vietnam and Red China. However, in the ill-founded hope of restoring peace to the embattled land, the Kennedy administration, through its roving ambassador, W. Averell Harriman, began urging, and finally pressuring, its Laotian allies to form a coalition government with a neutralist group and the local Communist Pathet Lao. Last summer at an international conference the three factions signed an agreement which established such a troika government and demanded the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Laotian soil.

Describing the settlement as a calculated risk (Barron's chose at the time to call it a witless gamble), Washington promptly complied. The Reds did not. On the contrary, they quickly set about demonstrating once again that every treaty with a Communist is an open invitation to trouble. The Pathet Lao first tried assassination, one of the trusted lieutenants of Kong Le, the misguided neutralist who originally launched the revolt, was murdered a few weeks ago. Next came subversion, a tactic revealed last month when a loyal Laotian soldier shot the foreign minister and denounced him as a traitor. Finally, in early April the Pathet Lao launched an unprovoked attack against the neutralist forces on the Plaine des Jarres, capturing several strongholds and other strategic real estate.

Appendix

Jefferson-Jackson Day Address by Senator Bayh

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on April 6, 1963, at Indianapolis, Ind., the junior Senator of Indiana [Mr. BAYH] was called upon to deliver the principal address at the Indiana Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

The junior Senator of Indiana performed eloquently, giving to his audience a clear picture of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian principles, and how those principles are applicable today.

For the benefit of all of those who did not have the privilege of hearing my distinguished colleague of Indiana, I ask unanimous consent to have his remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY SPEECH

(By Senator BAYH)

Tonight we meet to celebrate a victory, a victory most Hoosiers though an impossible task only 12 short months ago. Through your faith and devotion, with your energy and dedication to purpose, together we won the good fight. Words are insufficient to express the deep gratitude which Marvella and I feel in our hearts for you who honored me by bestowing the honor of serving as your U.S. Senator from Indiana.

Yes, there were those who said Democratic victory in Indiana was impossible. There are those who utter this same sterile sounding slogan tonight. Let us here and now proclaim to those pitiful prophets of doom who declared it impossible to elect VANCE HARTKE to the U.S. Senate, who thought it impossible to seat Matthew Welsh in the Governor's chair, who pessimistically prophesied that a young State legislator from the city of Terre Haute was wasting his time, let us say to them at this very hour that the Democratic Party does not now nor will we ever again believe that the election of Democrats in Indiana is impossible.

Let us start now determined to elect and reelect Democratic mayors throughout this State. Let us decide now that a Democrat will be elected Governor, that Indiana will continue to have two Democratic Senators, that Democrats shall control the next general assembly and that Indiana shall cast its electoral votes for John Fitzgerald Kennedy in 1964.

The people of Indiana want good government and we are giving it to them. Hoosier citizens demand straight talk and solutions to complicated problems. This we pledge. This is our goal.

As Democrats we can be proud of the heritage to which we fall benefit. From the time the principles of the Democratic Party were laid down by Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, ours has been the party of the peo-

ple, the defender of minority groups, the party of progress.

Shortly after the founding of our party, Thomas Jefferson defined its goals, characterized its philosophy and contrasted it with opposing forces when he said:

"Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties those who fear and distrust the people and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the high classes; and those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as most honest and safe."

In the span of nearly a century and a half from Jefferson to Kennedy, a great nation and the world's oldest democracy has sprung from the waiting lands of a continent and the hearts of a people and has spread around the world. And across this Nation is emblazoned the record of the Democratic Party, its belief in the people, its belief in the dignity of every man, its belief that there is no more noble aspiration for a political party or government than to tend to the needs of its citizens and to promote the basic opportunities of each individual American.

The Democratic Party has pursued these goals with concrete legislative programs. Democrats have been responsible for the cornerstones of family security, the social security program, unemployment compensation, consideration for the aged, the blind, our children. Democrats established the minimum wage and throughout the years we have improved it and increased its coverage. We have made considerable progress in the field of civil rights.

But we need not dwell in the past to talk of Democratic accomplishments. The Democratic Party is a party of the present and the future. After 2 years of the New Frontier, at the quarter post of the presidency of John F. Kennedy, we can see progress that has improved life here and around the world. Great progress has been made. Yet we are determined to solve problems still involved.

America has long been known for its Bill of Rights. Franklin Delano Roosevelt spoke eloquently of the four freedoms. Today a space age America must echo these thoughts and must rededicate itself to ensure certain basic opportunities for each American.

Each American must be given the opportunity to secure a job sufficient to provide for his family. Through the leadership of President Kennedy more Americans are gainfully employed today than at any other time in the history of our Nation.

Over 71 million American working men and women labor in the industries, shops, farms and mines of this country. Yet the challenge remains as long as many American workers cannot find jobs; as long as young minds and bodies are not properly equipped to find employment in space-age occupations. We, as Democrats are determined to meet this challenge with tax reviews to spur lagging economic growth; with retraining programs to assist those with unneeded skills; with a special youth program to guide and assist our younger citizens.

We are equally determined to provide this opportunity for those who labor on the farms of America. The efforts of the present administration have brought about an increase in farm income of approximately 10 percent during the last 2 years. Yet we will not rest until the American farmer enjoys equal prosperity with the rest of America, and the abundance from American farms is utilized

as a blessing to a hungry world rather than as a stumbling block to high farm income.

Those who labor in business, large and small, must be guaranteed the opportunity to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home and abroad. We, as Democrats, believe in a truly free economy, free from Government control and free from the oppression of monopolistic power. Ample opportunity for the small businessman is an important goal.

Each American, as a member of a family group, should be afforded the opportunity for compatible family living. The opportunities for jobs, for decent housing, and for adequate medical care during the twilight years of life are important steps toward attaining this goal. And we as Democrats must continue the efforts made in past years to see that adequate legislative programs are enacted in this important area.

Finally, each American child must have the opportunity for a good education. No investment we make as a nation is more important than that which we make in providing adequate training for our most valuable natural resource, our children. Every child must have the opportunity to develop full his own potentiality. To be sure it takes classrooms, it takes teachers; and these take money. But investment in our Nation's future through education is our best guarantee of meeting the challenges of the space age and the future.

If these opportunities are to be provided for Americans today, each of us must be resolute in opposition to these few persons who would deprive them to some Americans because of race, religion, or national origin; for full American citizenship means freedom of worship, freedom of access to public places, freedom to speak without fear of reprisal, and freedom to vote one's own convictions in the privacy of a polling place.

The cold war struggle today finds communistic totalitarianism and democratic freedom locked in mortal combat.

A waiting world is watching the American response to the challenges of this age. Awakening nations, searching for a better way of life, are asking will democracy and freedom work?

Let us answer with a hearty chorus of yes. Let us answer by renewing our determination to keep the United States of America a land of opportunity, for all Americans, for each American.

Panama Revolutionists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on many previous occasions, I have mentioned Panamanian revolutionists by name. An interesting news story by Ralph K. Skinner, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor on the isthmus, further identifies certain revolutionary activists on the isthmus.

A2325

* To the latest outburst of naked Communist aggression, the New Frontier reacted with its customary vigor. Even as his diplomatic handiwork was collapsing, Averell Harriman was promoted to Under Secretary of State. His boss, Dean Rusk, appealed for a cease fire. And the SEATO Alliance, at U.S. behest, announced plans to stake an impressive show of force, not in Laos, where the shooting happens to be, but in neighboring Thailand, where freemen (Mr. Rostow to the contrary notwithstanding) today surely breathe no easier.

"Don't worry, they're still 90 miles away," proclaims a patriotic Republican car sticker. Evidently, Washington hasn't gotten the message. Even as fighting broke out afresh in Laos, the White House was recording its elation over another dubious diplomatic stroke, the tentative agreement to set up a direct line to the Kremlin. Even as President Kennedy was eloquently hailing a now retired champion of freedom, the cause of freedom was suffering. Appeasement is an ugly word, and one which even Nelson Rockefeller, who sounds more like a party standardbearer every day, backed away from last week. History has no such qualms. Unless the current disastrous course of events is reversed, there will be only one place in history for the Kennedy administration. And it won't be among the profiles in courage.

U. S. Agencies Praised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the Record an important article by Frank E. Karelson entitled "U.S. Agencies Praised."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

U.S. AGENCIES PRAISED—VALUE STRESSED OF HELP GIVEN LATIN AMERICAN MASSES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

During a recent visit to Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, I had the opportunity to observe the efforts and accomplishments of the Alliance for Progress, the Agency for International Development Program, the Peace Corps, and the food-for-peace program.

On my visit I talked with many dedicated persons in each and all of these agencies. I conversed with people in numerous fields of endeavor, including educators, psychologists, housing experts, and so forth. I visited with workers and underprivileged citizens, with bankers, businessmen, both American and native.

My conclusions, based on this research and my own observations, were that on the whole each of these agencies was doing a splendid job in which every American can take pride. True, some people are doing better work than others, and there is still a vast amount to be accomplished. To make even slight headway is a stupendous task.

For centuries a small percentage of the people of South America have had all the cream and have no desire to help the masses who, because of centuries of virtual servitude, have become discouraged and disheartened. A beginning must be made so as to prevent these masses from turning to total-

itarianism, and our agencies are making that beginning. It will take time, dedication, and a great deal of money to make an important impact. It will require the cooperation of American business interests as well as the education of the small percentage of the people of wealth in South America. There will be failures and successes.

From the standpoint of the citizens of the United States this is not charity. It is something that we must do in order to prevent the United States from becoming an island surrounded by Communist revolutions—revolutions which can and will bring down the vices and bloodshed of the French revolution.

FRANK E. KARELSEN.

NEW YORK.

Upstream Flood Control in Oklahoma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, at the 34th annual State convention of the Oklahoma Garden Clubs, Inc., Miss Sally Cooksey of 1425 East Fifth Street, Ada, Okla., a senior at Ada High School, was judged the winner over a large field in competition on a speech entitled "Upstream Flood Control in Oklahoma."

The address speaks for the thoroughness with which Miss Cooksey researched this subject. Also, it indicates the great foresight she has into the future of the State of Oklahoma.

Miss Cooksey is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Cooksey. She intends to continue her speech training in college, and anyone who will read her speech on "Upstream Flood Control in Oklahoma" can understand why I believe she will be successful in this venture.

I ask unanimous consent to place her speech in the Record in order that it may have wide circulation and be preserved for those who will do research on this subject in the years to come.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

UPSTREAM FLOOD CONTROL IN OKLAHOMA (By Sally Cooksey)

Let's suppose the time is—say—1980.

The place: Oklahoma.

The locality: Your county.

A drive through the country shows you fields abundant with fully ripened grain, the land dotted with small lakes and ponds, curving terraces green with sod.

Does this sound like a description of a paradise or a fantasy of a dream world? I wonder if we could make this dream a reality.

Let us now think of another dream which was a reality and it was a nightmare for our parents. I have heard and read just as you have about the terrible droughts endured by people living in Oklahoma not too many years ago. We are told that at the end of a long, dry summer fields literally became parched and dead and worthless, that the ponds at which cattle drank became hard, crusty holes in the ground and farmers were forced to haul water to keep the animals alive.

Now what makes the difference between

this paradise we could have and the ugly truth learned by Oklahomans in the recent past? The difference lies in the Upstream Flood Control. Could this one matter of controlling water in our streams take us from drought to abundance? There are many men who feel that it can, that one of the greatest needs in Oklahoma today is the successful management of our water resources.

How, then, can we do this? Is it one of those things that is simple and yet not so simple? For one thing it is a long-term program. I was surprised to learn that work in this area started as far back as 1903. The work progressed slowly for several reasons—probably because of lack of interest and certainly because of lack of funds. It seems that it takes a great deal of time and money to just survey and see what needs to be done. The current watershed program carried on is a big step in the right direction.

I was interested to learn how and where these projects begin. An authority in the field explained to me that a watershed program must originate with a local group. They in turn prepare an application for a conservation district which they submit to the State agency. They then send experts to make a detailed study of that district. If the work is approved by State and Federal Governments, then the Federal Government will share with the State in financing the project. So, you see, each flood control project is a local undertaking with Federal help, not a Federal project with local help.

I believe educators tell us that the first step toward solving a problem is to recognize that we have a problem and to face it squarely. So, for a few moments, let's analyze our situation in Oklahoma. I know one group that saw the problem for the first time 2 years ago—that was the high school students who prepared for this same contest sponsored by the garden clubs. That year we studied gullies and the matter of soil erosion and we saw firsthand the terrible results of uncontrolled streams. By letting small streams run at will wherever the slope led, we were allowing this unruly water to do great damage to valuable land. Now, with this year's study of upstream control I can see that this runoff water damage could be prevented.

Of course, when we say the word "flood" the picture that comes to my mind is of low lands, or bottom lands which we have seen literally flooded and standing in water. We recognize that many times crops are lost by too much water just as by too little.

Actually, I guess, the kind of floods which harm people are even more serious than those which destroy land. So a big part of our problem, then, is our neglect of larger rivers which rise and swell, and spread to engulf and endanger human life. Years ago floods were accepted as accidents—unpredictable and unavoidable. But men have learned that this is not entirely true. Men have learned something of control and prevention.

There is another phase of our problem encountered by people who travel by car over our highways. Oklahomans, like all Americans, increasingly spend more time and travel more miles in automobiles. It is not uncommon in certain areas for creeks, swollen by excessive rains, to dislodge a bridge and carry it forward in strong torrents, leaving the road impassable.

In the face of all this I'm afraid we have to acknowledge that uncontrolled water running rampart over our State is a problem and should not be ignored. Our own watershed has its own combination of problems. So do all the other watersheds of the Nation, and solutions must fit the problems in each.

Now—is there a solution to our trouble? Luckily, there is. I believe the old saying is—"Heaven helps those who help themselves." And so it does.

We will have to have farmers, ranchers, small people, important people, conservation offices, State and Federal agencies all working together to correct some mistakes that have been made and to take immediate action for improvement. All the people must be fully informed about what is being done and why. And what each group's responsibilities are. This calls for a continuing program of information and education. One thing that has been used for several years and is proving very successful is the land treatment called "terracing." The county and State conservation service has taught land users the great value of retaining land by this method. Now the newest plan is what is called small detention dams. The idea here is that by having many small dams upstream the moisture is kept on areas that need it, rather than rushing downstream where it is not needed. One reason this is a good plan is that the smaller dams are so much less expensive than one very large dam making one large lake. The small upstream dams are usually earthen dams.

I want to take just a minute here to talk specifically about the construction of these dams and the control system used. Perhaps the reason I am especially interested in this is because of an "on-the-spot" inspection I made of several damsites. A few weeks ago two men from our local conservation office took me on a lengthy tour to see some structures in various stages of building. Our first stop was to see just the proposed location of a small dam. It had been surveyed and approved, but no work had been started. Our next stop was to one nearing completion, and the final and most impressive view was of a large dam which had been finished and in use for 2 years and which backed up quite a few acres of beautiful water. My escort explained that the base of this dam, and others, is clay. Above that is a dirt fill and on the very top is 6 inches of topsoil. This last layer had been sodded with Bermuda grass to prevent erosion. The next thing my guide pointed out was probably the most important feature of the flood control and that was the concrete spillway. This, he said, can be in any of various positions at the base of the dam, but is always in a very deep spot. This drawdown, as it is sometimes called, had a 36-inch pipe for the water to flow through constantly. As I watched that water flowing through the pipe I found it a little difficult to imagine that it would continue on to New Orleans and maybe even to the sea.

Another protective measure on pastureland is the building of ponds to hold water that might be a serious hazard if left free.

Here in this connection we become very aware of how closely water conservation ties into this flood control discussion. While I think the immediate concern in this upstream control program is not the accumulation and saving of water for future use, some day this may prove to be a great asset. We are being told by national planners the amount of water our Nation's people are using is rising tremendously and that there is danger that we may some day experience a real shortage of water in America. We had an example of this very close to home a few years ago when Oklahoma City found itself with an inadequate water supply for its growing population. So it will be well if anything we do now in the way of controlling water may later prove more valuable than we know.

Perhaps we should mention a matter that seems of less importance and that is that some of the larger dams are holding beautiful lakes which afford recreational facilities for Oklahoma residents.

Now let us suppose that it is April 1963 and the place again is Oklahoma. We can be mighty glad that at this point we see great sums of money being spent to preserve our land. And we should hope that in our future we can see the dream of the good earth come true.

The Big Change in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROLAND V. LIBONATI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 22, 1963

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article published in the Chicago Sunday Tribune of April 14, 1963, our good friend and fellow Chicagoan, Mr. Thomas H. Coulter, civic leader and chief executive officer of the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, pointed out the amazing improvements and advances made by the city of Chicago in the last few years.

It can be truly said that, under the dynamic leadership of the mayor of Chicago, the Honorable Richard J. Daley, as well as the leaders of industry, business, and labor, these changes have been brought about. Thomas Coulter's observations are realistically portrayed in this interesting article dealing with the present and future growth of a great city, the queen of the midwest plains.

THE BIG CHANGE IN CHICAGO

(By Thomas H. Coulter, chief executive officer, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry)

As I stand on the Michigan Avenue Bridge today, or drive along the lake shore, I have to marvel at what this city has accomplished in the last few years. Change? That's our middle name. Five years ago there was no Marina City, no Sandburg Village, no McCormack Place. Many of the glittering new glass houses on the gold coast were just gleams in the architect's eye.

Now we have changed, and how. The wreckers' ball has leveled acres of slums. Everywhere, the old brownstone and brick eyesores are tumbling from view and bold new buildings are rising from the rubble. People are beginning to talk about the exciting changes in Chicago everywhere in the world.

Show a photograph of Marina City to a London shop owner (or to a West German or a Japanese for that matter) and it's a good bet he'll identify it as Chicago's round, twin tower skyscraper. What's more, he'll probably want to discuss it at some length.

Mention Chicago-O'Hare International Airport nearly anywhere in the United States and someone will tell you they've heard it's the busiest airfield in the world. It is. No other airport comes close to O'Hare's annual total of 500,000 plane movements and 13 million passengers.

I believe the reason for Chicago's newly

emerging reputation as a business and idea-exchange center can be traced to its recent phenomenal growth, which comes on top of a decade of great prosperity.

Since the completion of the Inland Steel Building in 1958, which ended a 20-year hiatus in skyscraper construction in the city's Loop, Chicago has been hammering away in the biggest building boom in recent history. Last year alone, 830 commercial buildings were under construction. They represented investments of \$200 million.

As the old market tipsters used to say, it takes money to make money, and Chicago is rolling. Industrial investments here last year rose to \$428 million, making it the biggest year since 1956. The amount this year will be boosted by a spurge of new steel plant construction, including a \$250 million complex to be built by Bethlehem Steel Co.

Chicago is rolling in other ways too. A whole network of new expressways and tollways have changed a jumble into a joy ride for the area's 2 million automobiles. The Chicago Skyway, Tri-State Tollway, and Edens, Congress, Northwest, and Dan Ryan Expressways put the Loop within 25 minutes' drive of anywhere in town. To anyone who has been away for 5 years or so, these highways make Chicago look like a new city.

It is a new city. New and proud and confident. It's a growing city, too. The population of the six-county metropolitan area as of December 2, 1962, was 7,084,900, an increase of 27 percent over 1950.

Seven million busy people in search of their private goals. They're going places and doing things. It's a new city all right, but it's still jazz happy Chicago and it still jumps. It has its own brand of satire in Second City, its own kind of key club in Playboy, and now it's exporting both. In a more serious vein, Chicago has its hand in all the arts. Its orchestra, its art institute, and its museums need no introduction anywhere.

This is a bigger market than 12 of the 50 States combined. And, looking at the future, one must remember that this market has a high percentage of war babies. They are beginning to reach marrying age, and this has great significance for residential construction and related industries.

There will continue to be more and more retired people in our population. And those employed will have more and more leisure time. This will increase the demand for recreation and leisure time products. Chicago manufacturers make these items, lots of them. But indications are that the city's industry will have to increase its production 30 percent by 1975 just to meet the local demand.

The industry of the new Chicago has built itself on the old, but it has grown more diverse. It has gained in chemicals and petroleum products, in pharmaceuticals, and in printing and publishing. Chicago has long had the glamor industries, electronics, industrial research, and nuclear power, and new job categories are opening in these fields every day.

Growth has been a self-perpetuating impetus to Chicago's fast-rising reputation as a place in which to live, work, and do business. In 1959, the new Chicago was brought to the attention of the world in dramatic fashion with the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, linking the city to other major ports of the world. But that was 4 years ago, and things are changing even faster today.

In fact, Chicago's big era of development is just getting started. The city can say, with the brawny construction worker getting ready to toss a rivet a floor or two higher, "You ain't seen anything yet."

policy is entitled to feel well rewarded for standing up against the divisive forces of this country which did so much in the last 12 months to try to confuse and obstruct the policy of attaining peace and nationalism in the new nations of Africa.

I am happy to say that whatever efforts there have been from certain racist groups in this country to keep the people of Africa from obtaining control of their own countries, and getting their independence and freedom, appear to have been defeated.

No one can say how long this success can continue, and I would be the last to predict that our policy in Africa will not suffer setbacks in the future, as they have in the past; but I am confident we are on the right track. When we stand up for freedom and independence without regard to race, color, or creed, we are standing for the finest traditions of our country, and we have achieved great success in following that policy in what was once called the Dark Continent.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD CUBA

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I have noted during the weekend and the last few days a new spate of criticism with respect to the administration's Cuban policy. Articles have appeared with the suggestions that the authors have had access to confidential intelligence information indicating there has been a large buildup of Russian forces in Cuba.

It is suggested that the number of troops there has increased substantially, rather than been reduced. It is even suggested that the President of the United States has been fooled in the intelligence information which he is receiving. It is suggested that a certain U.S. Senator on the other side of the aisle knows more about the intelligence situation in Cuba than does the President of the United States, the Chief of our CIA, the intelligence agencies of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and others.

This may well turn out to be correct in the long run, Mr. President. I have no secret information with respect to intelligence in Cuba. I do have a feeling that the President of the United States and Mr. McCone, head of the CIA, who, I am sure, is advising the President on the basis of the most accurate and up-to-date intelligence information which is available to our country, are receiving a great deal better information than one could get from reading Hanson Baldwin in the New York Times and listening to certain Members of this body who would have us believe that they know more about what is going on in Cuba than do the President and his advisers.

It so happens that there appeared in this morning's Philadelphia Inquirer a lead editorial entitled "Charting a Course on Cuba."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may appear in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CHARTING A COURSE ON CUBA

America's agonizing debate over the problem of Cuba, and what to do about it, is in danger of getting bogged down in generalities at a time when the emphasis should be on specific courses of action.

Discussion of hypothetical conditions under which U.S. Armed Forces might invade Cuba does not get to the nub of the matter.

As we see it, U.S. policy on Cuba should have these four fundamental components:

1. The foremost objective should be the establishment of national independence, individual freedom and democratic government for the Cuban people.

2. The primary emphasis should be on attaining this objective by peaceful means rather than by war. (War is not a legitimate arm of diplomacy; it is the result of the failure of diplomacy.)

3. The first priority of immediate goals should be to obtain the removal of Soviet troops from Cuba and whatever weapons of aggression may still be there.

4. The sole authority over U.S. foreign policy must be held at all times by responsible officials of the U.S. Government, not by Cuban exiles who have been given sanctuary in this country. Aid and advice of the exiles should be enlisted when appropriate but a great nation cannot allow any foreign group, no matter how sympathetic we are to their aspirations, to call the shots in a situation where the issue of peace or war may hang in precarious balance.

To supplement this kind of policy on Cuba it will be necessary to learn definitively and at an early date whether or not Premier Khrushchev intends to get those Russian troops out of Cuba. This query must be put to Moscow in a reasonable but blunt manner. If Mr. Khrushchev chooses to consider such a question an ultimatum, then so be it.

An affirmative response is not so unlikely as some of the pessimists think. The Soviets, for all their ruthlessness, are practical men. They know that America, not Russia, holds the high cards in the Cuban controversy.

If the Russians insist on continuing their moves to make Cuba a Soviet military state there are a number of steps open to the United States and other members of the Organization of American States, and perhaps the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, that need not provoke war. Collective economic sanctions—including, possibly, some kind of quarantine or blockade—could be applied as circumstances warrant.

Bang-bang boys who want to solve the problem by opening fire on Cuba ought to bear in mind that the aim is to save the country, not annihilate it. Last resorts should not be applied until first resorts have been fairly tried.

The weakness in American policy on Cuba is not, as some critics contend, a reluctance to use armed force. That is a strength. The great need is for more vigorous application of economic and diplomatic weapons.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, that editorial, from my point of view, states accurately and ably what our policy in Cuba should be. The policy advocated by this fine Philadelphia newspaper is the exact policy of the President of the United States.

It calls for, first, as the foremost objective, the establishment of national independence, individual freedom, and democratic government for the people of Cuba.

That is our national objective, the first and primary one. That is the policy of the President of the United States.

The second point is stated as being the

attaining of that objective by peaceful means rather than by war. The Inquirer points out that war is not a legitimate arm of diplomacy; it is the result of the failure of diplomacy.

I am glad to say that despite the many war-whoopers, as Mr. Lippmann calls them, some of them among our own Members of this body, the President of the United States is committed to the objective of attaining that goal through diplomacy, legitimate sanctions short of war, conferences with our allies in the Organization of American States, and, through diplomatic efforts on the part of Latin American countries as well as our own, toward attaining the first and foremost objective, which is the establishment of national independence, individual freedom, and democratic government for the people of Cuba.

The third point made by the editorial is that the first priority of immediate goals should be to obtain the removal of Soviet troops from Cuba and whatever weapons of aggression may still be there.

That surely is true. That is certainly one of the most important objectives of this administration. The point is we mean to do it by diplomatic means, we mean to do it by keeping our treaty obligations, not by violating them, we mean to do it by supporting the United Nations, we mean to do it by supporting the Organization of American States. We do not mean to do it in an immature, childish way, by taking an attitude of "March up San Juan Hill"; by sending American boys to die in Cuba; by starting a war which, almost without question, would spread across the world; or imposing that kind of blockade which would, in itself, be a violation of international law, and therefore an act of war.

The fourth point made in the editorial is that the sole authority over U.S. foreign policy must be held at all times by responsible officials of the U.S. Government, and not by Cuban exiles.

We want to support the Cuban exiles in their legitimate desires to return to Cuba. We hope in due course they will be able to return and take their legitimate place in the economy and in the Government of that country, which we can hope will be under democratic auspices. We hope that they may be able to return to their native country and help their country take its rightful place among the democratic nations and people who believe in freedom.

But the way to do it is to make perfectly clear that we, too, believe in freedom, that we, too, believe in international law, that we, too, believe in keeping our treaty commitments. Here is the sentence from the editorial which I commend to the consideration of my colleagues in the Senate:

Bang-bang boys who want to "solve" the problem by opening fire on Cuba ought to bear in mind that the aim is to save the country, not annihilate it.

I support that position wholeheartedly. I am happy to note that it is the policy of the President of the United States. I call attention to the fact that the Phila-

those who felt we should not have supported the United Nations; criticism by those who supported Mr. Tshombe and his white mercenaries in Katanga—peace and parliamentary government are making substantial progress there.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article which appeared in this morning's New York Times, entitled "Congo's Regime Wins First Test," under the byline of J. Anthony Lukas, written in Leopoldville, may be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGO'S REGIME WINS FIRST TEST—ADOUA'S NEW GOVERNMENT BEATS NO-CONFIDENCE MOVE

(By J. Anthony Lukas)

LEOPOLDVILLE, THE CONGO, APRIL 21.—Premier Cyrille Adoula's new "Government of National Reconciliation" has defeated the first challenge by the die-hard opposition in Parliament.

After a noisy 7-hour debate that ended late last night, government supporters in the senate defeated a nonconfidence motion against the cabinet. The vote was 31 to 20 with 4 abstentions.

The margin indicates that Mr. Adoula's new coalition, formed only 6 days ago, has at least a temporary majority in Parliament.

The new government contains a wide sampling from the opposition, which has been harrying the Premier for months. Only the extremists remain in opposition.

SIGNIFICANT VICTORY

Observers believed last night's victory was particularly significant because the no-confidence motion was based on an issue that had aroused concern cutting across party lines. This was that Mr. Adoula planned to send the legislators home for an extended vacation June 30 and rule by decree.

Opposition speakers charged during the debate that the Premier recently told associates he would take this step, relying on powers in the controversial article 87 of the country's fundamental law.

This article provides that the present legislature must sit at least 3 years, but not more than 4 years. The 3 years would be up June 30.

Opposition speakers charged last night that Mr. Adoula would close the legislature on that day and rule by decree until new elections could be held. That would probably be several years away.

As evidence of Mr. Adoula's intentions, the motion cited statements he was alleged to have made to his associates, his past handling of the Parliament and a message sent from New York to the Adoula government here.

Etienne Kikaka, chief spokesman for the opposition, declared that this message contained instructions for Mr. Adoula from quarters in the United States on how to deal with Parliament.

"This is an authentic document," he shouted, waving a piece of paper.

It was later identified as a French translation of an article that had appeared in the New York Times. The message apparently was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here by the Congolese Mission at the United Nations.

The article, written by the Times' correspondent in Leopoldville, was an analysis of the political situation here on the eve of last week's cabinet reshuffle. It appeared in the Times of April 7.

The motion of no confidence quoted only part of one paragraph from the French trans-

lation in support of the charge against Mr. Adoula. The quotation, in the original English, is as follows:

"A cabinet reshuffle may ease the situation, but skeptics have their doubts. There are increasing suggestions that the way to handle Parliament is to send it on a nice long vacation again, maybe 2 years instead of 2 months this time. There is even talk of a military coup d'etat."

In the original article that paragraph ended with the words "If the opposition should get out of hand again."

In his response last night Mr. Adoula did not deny he was considering using article 87 as a means of ending this legislature's term on June 30.

He denied, however, that this would amount to a dissolution of Parliament, as the opposition alleged. The Premier said Parliament could be dissolved only by the head of state, President Joseph Kasavubu, with the concurrence of two-thirds of at least one chamber.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the article points out that Premier Cyrille Adoula's new "Government of National Reconciliation" has defeated the first challenge by its diehard opposition in the Parliament. It should be pointed out that, in an effort to pacify the various political factions in the country, Premier Adoula had brought into his government all save the most irreconcilable factions in the Congo. The question was raised as to a vote of confidence for his government, and the Premier won by a vote of 31 to 20.

This new government contains a wide sampling from the various factions of the opposition which had been harrying the Premier for months. I believe it is an indication of the sound statesmanship of Mr. Adoula, who is strongly supported by the United Nations and the United States, that he has been able to win this parliamentary fight.

It is interesting to note that those who are attempting to create more havoc in the Congo, including, of course, the Soviet Union, which has found some rather strange allies in this country in that regard, have been misquoting newspaper articles which have appeared in this country—indeed, in the New York Times.

The New York Times account referred to in the article which I have placed in the RECORD was quoted out of context, and if read as a whole is clearly a sound report of political conditions in the Congo, and not critical of Mr. Adoula's government.

I am happy to note again for the RECORD that the U.S. policy in the Congo has been extremely successful.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that an interesting column by Mr. Roscoe Drummond, which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer this morning, may also be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLUMN BY ROSCOE DRUMMOND

WASHINGTON.—Whenever the Soviet Union loses the diplomatic initiative, it turns to propaganda to cover up. Moscow is up against it in Africa. Things are going badly, with their reach for power blocked or blunted by the African nations themselves.

So Pravda is called to the front lines. It aims a barrage at those awful "Western imperialists," whom it accuses of being intent upon fastening colonial rule on the whole African continent.

This bizarre blast comes in the wake of one of the most remarkable achievements in behalf of political freedom in all human history: In only 8 years—from 1960 to 1963—the once colonialist Western nations have furthered the independence of 23 African countries and welcomed them into the United Nations.

At the same time the Soviet Union grips tenaciously the nations of Eastern Europe which it took by force after the Second World War and which it had to hold by force when the people of East Germany, Hungary and Poland successively sought to free themselves from Soviet rule.

It reached out to expand its imperialist power to Cuba and has made such menacing gestures toward the Middle East and Africa that local communism has lost much of its lure.

The fact that the Kremlin has been so unsuccessful in extending its sway into the Middle East and into Africa undoubtedly explains, in part, the full-page editorial in Pravda appealing to the Africans to be wary of any and all association with the West. This is what's been happening:

Ghana and Guinea have shown themselves exceedingly disappointed in their relations with the Soviets and are encouraging investment of Western capital to reinforce their economies.

The new African states are showing little interest in embracing the proclaimed Communist answer to their economic ills. The broad tendency is toward a mixed economy, with some public ownership and a substantial borrowing from the ways of Western society.

Former French colonies which have now won their independence have their eyes far more on the burgeoning European Economic Community than on Russia.

Arab Nations in North Africa have been giving the Reds the back of their wrist. Arab-Soviet ties have been steadily deteriorating, as evidenced by the suppression of Communist parties in Iraq, Syria, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic.

The Kremlin is not, of course, giving up. It never does. It is staking much of its hopes for expanding its influence on the indoctrination of several thousands of African students who have been attending Soviet universities and colleges.

But the indoctrination isn't going very well. There are signs that the African students are becoming disenchanted. A group of them recently bolted Bulgaria, complaining of racial discrimination and police brutality.

Mr. CLARK. This article points out, in Mr. Drummond's usual, clear style, how very successful U.S. policy has been, under the Kennedy administration, throughout Africa; how 23 new African countries have obtained their independence between 1960 and 1963; have been welcomed peacefully into the United Nations; how much of this is due to the efforts of both the Kennedy administration, and the Eisenhower administration.

This article points out that this has been a great diplomatic triumph over the Kremlin and Russia, because of the support we have given the African policy of the United Nations.

I think everyone in our country who supported either President Eisenhower or President Kennedy in their African

delphia Inquirer, its publisher and editor, my good friend, Walter Annenberg, has always supported the Republican Party in national elections. That makes this editorial even more significant than before.

In this connection we should give careful attention to the very intelligent answer made by the President of the United States in the question and answer period which took place after his address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington last Saturday.

I ask unanimous consent that the question asked at the conclusion of his speech and the answer that he made thereto may be printed in full in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIFT WITH CUBAN EXILES

Q. Mr. President, would you give us your views or whatever you have to say about Miró Cardona and his charges that you backed out on a promise for a second invasion and the other things in his statement?

A. Why, I think the Department of State has already made a comment which represents the views of the Government. Dr. Cardona lives in Miami which is the center, of course, of the exiles, the center of their hopes, and I think that a good many Cubans feel that the only way that they can return to Cuba is by a military action of the United States.

We're conscious of our obligations to our own people, our own security, our alliances, our responsibilities, as I said, as the chief defender of freedom all over the world. We have not determined that it's in our national interest or in the general interests of the hemisphere for us to launch an invasion. And naturally, that disappoints the exiles. But, as the State Department statement said, the foreign policy of the United States, when so much depends upon us, must be made by the United States. And however much we may sympathize with their desire to be free, the United States cannot launch itself into a massive invasion of Cuba without considering the worldwide implications to other free countries and also its effect upon our own position.

Now, as to his charges, I don't think it's necessary to go through them. Quite obviously nobody in the U.S. Government ever informed anyone in the Government or outside the Government, Dr. Cardona or anyone else, that we were going to launch, or committed ourselves to launch, a military invasion of six divisions.

We appreciate very much the fact that a good many Cubans have volunteered for the American Armed Forces. I think that they can be very valuable there. No one knows what the future is going to bring. But I hope that Dr. Cardona and others will realize that this is not a struggle between the United States and the exiles. It's really a struggle against the Communist infiltration in this hemisphere. And while we may disagree as to what actions we should take to remove it, and while my obligations are somewhat different from Dr. Cardona's, I would hope that it would be possible for us to work together in the general interest, and that is the object of this Government.

We want to work with Dr. Cardona and all the other Cubans, but we must maintain the control of our policy here in the United States and here in Washington, and will continue to do so.

RELATIONS WITH CASTRO

Q. I'd like to read two others here also on the question of Cuba. If Castro remains in power for another 5 years, will the United States continue in its refusal to deal with his government? And the second one is, 2 years ago tomorrow, Mr. President, you stood here and told us Fidel Castro's days were numbered. You said, "Our restraint is not inexhaustible." You said we must not let, "the inter-American doctrine of non-interference conceal or excuse a policy of nonaction." Now, sir, Communist domination of Cuba is, if anything, more complete than 2 years ago and is stiffened by Russia. Many Americans believe our policy toward Cuba is indeed one of nonaction. What can you say to persuade them that this is not so? When, if ever, is our restraint going to come to an end?

A. Well, I hope our restraint or sense of responsibility will not ever come to an end. Now in the general question, since the last 2 years the United States has taken a good many actions in—to contain the spread of communism in the hemisphere. We—a good many nations in the Alliance for Progress, the Punta del Este declaration, the San Jose declaration—a number of nations have broken off diplomatic relations. Only five continue them with Cuba.

The free world trade—has dropped from 800 million to 80 million. The efforts are being made since the San Jose conference to work with other countries to control the movement of personnel in and out of Cuba. It's quite obvious now to the hemisphere and, in fact, to the world, that Castro is merely a Soviet satellite. Every survey, every study, every meeting shows a sharp deterioration in the image that he once had as a great nationalist leader. And now he's generally regarded in the hemisphere as having sold out to the Communist movement and having now become a spearhead for the Soviet advance.

CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE

In addition, the United States maintains a constant surveillance. We've indicated that we would not permit any troops from Cuba to move off the island of Cuba in any offensive action against any neighboring country. We've indicated, also, that we would not accept a Hungary in Cuba—the use of Soviet troops against Cubans if there was any internal reaction against Castro. In many ways, we have attempted to isolate Cuba and to indicate our determination to continue that policy until Cuba is free.

Now after we've done all those steps, there are two alternatives—there are two additional policies which could be carried out.

I think that when those talk about—talk about Cuba, we ought to say what we want to do. We shouldn't say, Well, let's do something, or How long is our restraint going to last? I would think the two remaining policies are, one, a blockade, which of course brings us once again to a confrontation with the Soviet Union, and the other is invasion of Cuba.

In my judgment, it would be a mistake to carry out either one of those policies today. I don't know what conditions are going to bring in the future. No one predicted with certainty what was going to happen last fall. I don't know what's going to happen any place in the world. But—therefore, I think that we should maintain our strength and our determination, but I don't think that the conditions would serve the interest of the United States or of our allies to carry out either an invasion or blockade under these present conditions.

The United States is responsible for the independence of dozens of countries stretch-

ing from South Korea to Berlin. It is responsible for the defense, really, of Western Europe. It is responsible for the major struggle against the Communists in our own hemisphere. For 6 percent of the world's population we carry tremendous burdens. I do not think we can indulge ourselves at this point, if that is the proper word, in concentrating all of our material strength in one section of the world and be indifferent to its consequences elsewhere.

Now I don't know—I don't accept the views Mr. Castro is going to be in power for 5 years. I can't indicate the role by which there will be a change. But I've seen enough—as we all have—enough change in the last 15 years to make me feel that time is on the—that time will see Cuba free again, and I think when that happens the record will show that the United States has played a significant role.

But for the present, and for a great power which carries worldwide responsibility, I think our present policy is the right one. If the American people decide differently, then, of course, they have an obvious remedy. But for now we intend to follow this policy.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the answer, in short, given in colloquial terms, but with the clarity for which our President is famous, indicates his strong support of the present policy in Cuba. I call particular attention to the fact that he says in his statement, after reviewing the strong steps we have taken to discourage Mr. Castro:

After we've done all those steps * * * there are two additional policies which could be carried out.

Then he points out that one is a blockade, which, of course, once again brings us into confrontation all over the world with the Soviet Union, and the other is an invasion of Cuba.

The President turns his back on both of these courses. He takes what I believe, I say again, to be a mature and sensible and common sense approach to the very difficult problem confronting us 90 miles from our shore. I commend him for his maturity. I commend him for the soundness of his policy.

TEXAN STRESSES NEED FOR S. 1200 WHICH WOULD GIVE VALIDITY TO THE WORDS "FHA INSURED"

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, on March 28 I introduced a bill designed to give validity to the term "FHA insured" as a protection for home buyers. Twelve Members of the Senate have joined as cosponsors.

The national response to this legislation is heartening, and I will from time to time bring to the attention of my colleagues comments which are particularly pertinent.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the text of a letter I have received from Texarkana, Tex., be printed in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXARKANA, TEX., April 1, 1963.

Senator ERNEST GRUENING,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It is my understanding that you plan to submit a bill that will require the

April 22, 1963

Federal Housing Administration to correct major defects that appear after construction of an FHA house.

We need such legislation badly in this country, as the public is being cheated right and left on FHA housing.

FHA has had the responsibility, by implication if not by law, to protect the public in the past but has not lived up to this responsibility.

How many times have you seen the advertisement "Built Under FHA Inspection," or "Conforming to FHA Specifications"?

The average citizen, who is not expert in construction, believes that FHA sees that their insured loans houses are properly built and this certainly is not the case.

I know of several persons who contacted FHA about defective construction and were told that this was a matter between builder and buyer, in spite of the fact that they had made several inspections while the house was being built.

Another example of FHA's laxity is in the evaluation of houses. Old John Q. Citizen doesn't know the value of a house and is generally content to pay what FHA says a place is worth. I will bet you that more often than not, the FHA evaluation is higher than the actual market value of the house.

I am sure that all FHA people are honest, but if they are not, this would be a real fine opportunity for an unscrupulous builder and FHA employee to rook the public. Maybe they do, who knows?

I surely hope you get some help from Congress on this.

Very truly yours,

AUTHORITY FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT TO SIGN THE ENROLLED BILL H.R. 4715

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding

ing the adjournment of the Senate today the Secretary be authorized to receive messages from the House and that the Vice President be authorized to sign the enrolled bill (H.R. 4715) to incorporate the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, duly passed by the two Houses and found truly enrolled.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn until tomorrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 23, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

April 22

justice and brotherly love. May He enlighten the rulers of peoples so that in addition to their solicitude for the proper welfare of their citizens, they may guarantee and defend the great gift of peace; may He enkindle the wills of all, so that they may overcome the barriers that divide, cherish the bonds of mutual charity, understand others, and pardon those who have done them wrong; by virtue of His action, may all peoples of the earth become as brothers, and may the most longed-for peace blossom forth and reign always between them.

As a pledge of this peace, and with the ardent wish that it may shine forth on the Christian communities entrusted to your care, especially for the benefit of those who are most lowly and in the greatest need of help and defense, we are glad to impart to you, venerable brothers, to the priests both secular and religious, to the religious men and women and to the faithful of your dioceses, particularly to those who make every effort to put these exhortations of ours into practice, our apostolic blessing in propitiation of heavenly favors. Finally, upon all men of good will, to whom this encyclical letter is also addressed, we implore from Almighty God health and prosperity.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on Holy Thursday, the 11th day of April, in the year 1963, the fifth of our pontificate.

JOHN XXIII.

Cuba file
LIKE THE WORD OR NOT, THE
RESULT IS APPEASEMENT

(MR. ALGER (at the request of Mr. GOODLING) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the body of the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

MR. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, some of the newspapers and the Kennedy apologists have been annoyed during the past week because the administration has been charged with appeasing the Communists. Well, we can only reach a decision as to what the President is doing by the results achieved. Whether or not we like to use the word appeasement, the result of Kennedy policies in Cuba, Laos, the nuclear test ban negotiations, is closely akin to appeasement.

It is time for the American people and Congress to face the facts of what is happening because of our confused, or total lack of a workable foreign policy. Looking at the record of the past 2 years we find that the Kennedy administration has been consistent in its failures. Under Kennedy policies Cuba has been lost and is now a solid beachhead for communism in the Western Hemisphere. Kennedy policies have resulted in turmoil and confusion in every country in Latin America with Cuban-inspired subversion putting every government to the south of us in dire peril.

Following Kennedy policies we are fighting a war, which we refuse to call a war, in South Vietnam and American boys are dying there. A neutral Laos has been lost through a Kennedy program of insisting upon the establishment of a coalition government with the Communists. The Kennedy policy of backing down on demands for proper inspection in any test ban treaty has merely led Khrushchev to get tougher and to insist on even more unreasonable conditions.

In short the Kennedy administration cannot point to any notable success in

its foreign policy. The one bright moment when we might have snatched a victory was following the President's brave sounding speech of last fall on Cuba, but once the election was over, our policy returned to one of drift and indecision and the advantage we held momentarily was lost.

Mr. Speaker, the tragic story of the Communist doublecross in Laos is just another in the long list of failures of the Kennedy administration. Evidently the President lacks total understanding of communism, its objectives, and its history.

The President continues to try to make deals with Khrushchev in the interest of peace. Almost daily we are told of suggested compromises in order to win over the Russians—our protection of Castro from patriotic Cubans fighting to regain their freedom, our backdown on on-site inspections in the nuclear test ban talks, and the forcing of a coalition government on the freedom-loving people of Laos.

The President's backdown on Cuba is strengthening the Communist beachhead in the Western Hemisphere and threatening other Communist takeovers in Latin America. Our weak position in regard to on-site inspections in any nuclear test treaty has resulted, even as late as this weekend, in further blustering demands by Khrushchev. Finally, our abandoning of a free Laos in favor of a coalition with the Communists has resulted in the usual classic doublecross by the Communists who ignore another treaty, establish a firm hold on another country and do it all on the money of the taxpayers of the United States.

Where are we headed as a result of the zigging and zagging of the Kennedy administration? Wherein lies the responsibility for continuing to follow a course which consistently results in failure? These are questions demanding an answer from the President.

The strange, unrealistic course of the Kennedy administration is ably discussed in an article from Barron's, issue of April 15, 1963, called "From Cuba to Laos," and I include it as a part of these remarks at this point.

The strange, unrealistic course of the Kennedy administration is set forth in three articles I would like to include as a part of these remarks at this point and to urge their careful study by every Member of this body. First, "A Doublecross for the United States in Laos" from the U.S. News & World Report of April 22. Second an article, "From Cuba to Laos" from Barron's, issue of April 15. Finally, an excerpt from the current, April 29 issue of U.S. News & World Report on the dangers threatening freedom and our security in the Caribbean because of the failure of the Kennedy administration to stop Communist aggression in Cuba.

A DOUBLECROSS FOR THE UNITED STATES IN LAOS

Communists have got things going their way in Laos. Spring flareup of fighting in a key area is only one of the signs.

It's a familiar Communist strategy: Make

a deal, welch on it before the ink is dry, then turn it to their own advantage.

By agreeing to neutralize Laos, Reds kept what they had, added gains, and cut the ground out from under the United States.

Signs are increasing that the United States, trying to do business with the Communists, is being doublecrossed once again.

This time the doublecross is taking place in Laos. It has come barely 9 months after a formal agreement with the Communists to set up a neutral coalition Government—free of outside influence—in this highly strategic area of southeast Asia.

From the first, the Communists have violated that agreement.

In early April, fighting flared again when Communist forces attacked the town of Xiengkhouang in a move to tighten their hold on the crucial Plain of Jars in central Laos. Even before that flare-up occurred, however, the Reds—aided by North Vietnamese Communists in violation of last year's agreement—already had sealed off a big chunk of the country.

STRATEGIC POSITION

They are now in position to send forces and equipment along a Communist-held corridor in Laos to their guerrillas in South Vietnam, where the United States is heavily involved. Also, Communist infiltrators from Laos can move freely into Thailand at scores of points along the border to carry out subversion, and to arm and recruit agents.

It is becoming clear that, the longer the neutral coalition of government of Communists, anti-Communists, and neutralists exists, the stronger the Communist military forces become.

The coalition itself came about through a sharp switch in U.S. policy.

Early in his administration, President Kennedy threatened to use force to stop the Communist inroads in Laos. On March 15, 1961, he said, "We are determined to support the Government and the people of Laos in resisting" the Reds. Then, 8 days later, he told a news conference this:

"If there is to be a peaceful solution, there must be a cessation of the present armed attacks by externally supported Communists. If these attacks do not stop, those who support a truly neutral Laos will have to consider their response."

NOT SO EASY

It soon became evident, however, that the promise to check the Communists was easier to make than to fulfill. A cease-fire was announced in May of that year, but the Communist pressure continued.

In April of 1962, fighting broke out on a considerable scale. In May, the Communists—aided by thousands of troops from North Vietnam—engulfed whole areas of the country and chased thousands of Laotian Government troops across the border into Thailand.

The United States, as a countermove, sent American marines into Thailand. Hints were dropped of a direct attack on Communist North Vietnam if aggression did not stop.

In the negotiations that followed, however, the United States seemed to change directions. Financial aid was withheld from the anti-Communist government of Laos to try to pressure it into a coalition with the Communists.

Averell Harriman, as chief diplomatic strategist for the United States advocated neutralizing Laos by getting the warring factions together in a government that included Communists in the cabinet. An agreement for such a government was signed in Geneva on July 23, 1962—and it quickly developed that the Communists had gotten exactly what they wanted: a voice in the central government and a firm grip on key areas.

over themselves lest they relax and feel satisfied with objectives already achieved.

In fact, all human beings ought rather to reckon that what has been accomplished is but little in comparison with what remains to be done: because organs of production, trade unions, associations, professional organizations, insurance systems, legal systems, political regimes, institutions for cultural, health, recreational, or sporting purposes—these must all be adjusted to the era of the atom and of the conquest of space: an era which the human family has already entered, wherein it has commenced its new advance toward limitless horizons.

Relations between Catholics and non-Catholics in social and economic affairs

The doctrinal principles outlined in this document derive from or are suggested by requirements inherent in human nature itself, and are, for the most part, dictates of the natural law. They provide Catholics, therefore, with a vast field in which they can meet and come to an understanding both with Christians separated from this apostolic see, and also with human beings who are not enlightened by faith in Jesus Christ, but who are endowed with the light of reason and with a natural and operative honesty. In such relations let the faithful be careful to be always consistent in their actions, so that they may never come to any compromise in matters of religion and morals. At the same time, however, let them be, and show themselves to be, animated by a spirit of understanding and detachment, and disposed to work loyally in the pursuit of objectives which are of their nature good, or conducive to good.²⁸

However, one must never confuse error and the person who errs, not even when there is question of error or inadequate knowledge of truth in the moral or religious field. The person who errs is always and above all a human being, and he retains in every case his dignity as a human person; and he must be always regarded and treated in accordance with that lofty dignity. Besides, in every human being, there is a need that is congenial to his nature and never becomes extinguished, compelling him to break through the web of error and of his mind to the knowledge of truth. And God will never fail to act on his interior being, with the result that a person, who at a given moment of his life lacks the clarity of faith or even adheres to erroneous doctrines, can at a future date be enlightened and believe the truth. Meetings and agreements, in the various sectors of daily life, between believers and those who do not believe or believe insufficiently because they adhere to error, can be occasions for discovering truth and paying homage to it.

It must be borne in mind, furthermore, that neither can false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin, and destiny of the universe and of man, be identified with historical movements that have economic, social, cultural or political ends, not even when these movements have originated from those teachings and have drawn and still draw inspiration therefrom. Because the teachings, once they are drawn up and defined, remain always the same, while the movements, working on historical situations in constant evolution, cannot but be influenced by these latter and cannot avoid, therefore, being subject to changes, even of a profound nature. Besides, who can deny that those movements, insofar as they conform to the dictates of right reason and are interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval?

²⁸ Ibid., p. 456.

It can happen, then, that a drawing nearer together or a meeting for the attainment of some practical end, which was formerly deemed inopportune or unproductive, might now or in the future be considered opportune and useful. But to decide whether this moment has arrived, and also to lay down the ways and degrees in which work in common might be possible for the achievement of economic, social, cultural, and political ends which are honorable and useful: there are the problems which can only be solved with the virtue of prudence, which is the guiding light of the virtues that regulate the moral life, both individual and social. Therefore, as far as Catholics are concerned, this decision rests primarily with those who live and work in the specific sectors of human society in which those problems arise, always, however, in accordance with the principles of the natural law, with the social doctrine of the church, and with the directives of ecclesiastical authority. For it must not be forgotten that the church has the right and the duty not only to safeguard the principles of ethics and religion, but also to intervene authoritatively with her children in the temporal sphere, when there is a question of judging about the application of those principles to concrete cases.²⁹

Little by Little

There are some souls, particularly endowed with generosity, who, on finding situations where the requirements of justice are not satisfied or not satisfied in full, feel enkindled with the desire to change the state of things, as if they wished to have recourse to something like a revolution.

It must be borne in mind that to proceed gradually is the law of life in all its expressions; therefore in human institutions, too, it is not possible to renovate for the better except by working from within them, gradually. Pius XII proclaimed: "Salvation and justice are not to be found in revolution, but in evolution through concord. Violence has always achieved only destruction, not construction; the kindling of passions, not their pacification; the accumulation of hate and ruin, not the reconciliation of the contending parties. And it has reduced men and parties to the difficult task of rebuilding, after sad experience, on the ruins of discord."³⁰

An Immense Task

There is an immense task incumbent on all men of good will, namely, the task of restoring the relations of the human family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom: the relations between individual human beings; between citizens and their respective political communities; between political communities themselves; between individuals, families, intermediate associations and political communities on the one hand, and the world community on the other. This is a most exalted task, for it is the task of bringing about true peace in the order established by God.

Admittedly, those who are endeavoring to restore the relations of social life according to the criterions mentioned above, are not many; to them we express our paternal ap-

preciation, and we earnestly invite them to persevere in their work with ever greater zeal. And we are comforted by the hope that their number will increase, especially among those who believe. For it is an imperative of duty; it is a requirement of love. Every believer in this world of ours must be a spark of light, a center of love, a vivifying leaven amidst his fellow men: and he will be this all the more perfectly the more closely he lives in communion with God and in the intimacy of his own soul.

In fact, there can be no peace between men unless there is peace within each one of them: unless, that is each one builds up within himself the order wished by God. Hence St. Augustine asks: "Does your soul desire to overcome your lower inclinations? Let it be subject to Him who is on high and it will conquer the lower self: there will be peace in you; true, secure and well-ordered peace. In what does that order consist? God commands the soul; the soul commands the body; and there is nothing more orderly than this."³¹

The Prince of Peace

These words of ours which we have wished to dedicate to the problems that most beset the human family today and on the just solution of which the ordered progress of society depends, are dictated by a profound aspiration which we know is shared by all men of good will: the consolidation of peace in the world.

As the humble and unworthy Vicar of Him Whom the prophet announced as the "Prince of Peace,"³² we have the duty to expend all our energies in an effort to protect and strengthen this gift. However, peace will be but an empty-sounding word unless it is founded on the order which this present document has outlined in confident hope: an order founded on truth, built according to justice, vivified and integrated by charity, and put into practice in freedom.

This is such a noble and elevated task that human resources, even though inspired by the most praiseworthy good will, cannot bring it to realization alone. In order that human society may reflect as faithfully as possible the Kingdom of God, help from on high is necessary. For this reason, during these sacred days our supplication is raised with greater fervor toward Him who by His painful passion and death overcame sin—the root of discord and the source of sorrows and inequalities—and by His blood reconciled mankind to the Eternal Father; for He himself is our peace. He it is that hath made both one * * * and coming He announced the good tidings of peace to you who were afar off, and of peace to those who were near.³³

And in the liturgy of these days we hear the announcement: Our Lord Jesus Christ, after His resurrection, stood in the midst of His disciples and said "Peace be to you", alleluia: the disciples rejoiced seeing the Lord.³⁴

He leaves us peace. He brings us peace; "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you."³⁵ This is the peace which we implore of Him with the ardent yearning of our prayer.

May He banish from the hearts of men whatever might endanger peace, may He transform them into witnesses of truth,

²⁹ *Miscellanea Augustiniana* * * * S. Augustini Sermones post Maurinos reperti, Roma, 1930, p. 633.

³⁰ Cf. Is. 9, 6.

³¹ Eph. 2, 14-17.

³² Resp. and Mat., in feria VI infra oct. Paschae.

³³ Io. 14, 27.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 456; cf. Leonis XIII Epist. Encycl. Immortale Dei, Acta Leonis XIII, V, 1885, p. 128; Pii XI Litt. Encycl. Ubi Aracano, A.A.S. XIV, 1922, p. 698; et Pii XII Allocutio ad Delegatos Unionis Internationalis Sodali-tatum mulierum catholicarum ob communem Conventum Romae coadunatas, habita die 11 mensis Septembris anno 1947, A.A.S. XXXIX, 1947, p. 486.

³⁰ Cf. Allocutio ad officios ex Italiae diocesis Romae coadunatos, habita in festo Pentecostes, die 13 mensis Iunii anno 1943, A.A.S. XXXV, 1943, p. 176.

BACK IN THE FRAY

On April 8, 1963, Mr. Harriman was sworn in as U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. On that same date, the Communists renewed their offensive in Laos.

But long before that they had made it a practice to ignore any part of the peace agreement that got in their way.

The United States, for example, withdrew its troops from Thailand and halted military assistance to Laos. But the Communists disregarded the agreement and left thousands of North Vietnamese troops in the country. Russian promises to get them out have not been lived up to.

An international commission, set up to guarantee the neutrality of Laos, has been unable to function. Its members cannot get into many Communist-held areas.

There has been a series of political assassinations carried out by the Communists to weaken the neutralists, and thus strengthen Communist influence.

In November 1962, and again in January 1963, unarmed American supply planes were shot down while trying to fly relief supplies to non-Communists bottled up in Red-held territory.

Now the danger is that the Communists will be able to infiltrate formerly anti-Communist areas along the Mekong River while keeping their own zone tightly locked up.

What Western forces face is the collapse of the Laos formula for neutrality. Vietnamese and Laotian Communists actually have improved their position over what it was when the deal to neutralize the country was agreed to.

Despite sporadic fighting, political assassinations, and other harassing tactics, most experts on Asian affairs doubt that the Reds will launch an all-out military campaign at this juncture.

The reason: A military takeover would end the U.S. economic assistance on which the coalition depends. Also, it might bring American forces back into Thailand and result in stepped-up U.S. activity against the Communist guerrillas fighting in South Vietnam.

According to this theory, the Communists would gain little they don't have already by an all-out military assault.

Turncoat neutralists are being trained by Communist instructors from North Vietnam who stayed in Laos after the truce came. The anti-Communist forces, on the other hand, no longer are receiving U.S. training and equipment. The military muscle and spirit are eroding as their enemies grow stronger.

When Communist forces made their move in early April, the United States and other members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization decided on a show of strength. On April 9, they ordered extensive military maneuvers in Thailand and naval exercises in southeast Asian waters.

This decision obviously was intended to impress the Communists with the armed power that could be unleashed against them. But, in Asia, no one really expects the United States to intervene militarily if serious civil war should erupt again in Laos. As of now, it would be impossible for the United States to generate any substantial support inside the country.

One westerner long experienced in southeast Asia expressed it this way: "When the United States abandoned the anti-Communists and forced them into a coalition with the Reds it gave up all of its high cards. Now its only hope is to try to maintain a precarious neutrality and keep the coalition Government operating."

Western allies of the United States are beginning to have some second thoughts about the deal with the Communists to "neutralize" Laos.

British observers concede, for example, that over the long pull the Communists still

are bent on taking all southeast Asia, and they see little prospect of checking them, the way things are going.

French sources are inclined to the view that the United States must be willing to take major risks to save what's left of southeast Asia. Otherwise, the Communists will go right on using subversion and guerrilla operations to rot away the foundations of non-Communist and anti-Communist government in the area.

In Laos itself, most western observers feel that the neutralists are finished as a military force. If the coalition holds together, the Reds will have a bigger voice in the Government from now on, and anti-Communist power gradually will be whittled away.

Once again, the Reds have used a deal with the West as a tool for doublecrossing the West. Strategic Laos, which stood up for years against Communist attackers with U.S. backing, now seems to be sliding into the Communist camp.

Landlocked Laos is "the stopper in the jug." If it goes, beyond its borders lie Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, South Vietnam—the whole of southeast Asia.

FROM CUBA TO LAOS: U.S. FOREIGN POLICY
SMACKS OF APEASEMENT

The Kennedy administration, as its most ardent critics must admit, has consistently displayed admirable skill in the use of words. Last week the President himself was in rare rhetorical form. After keeping the Nation in mounting suspense for 36 hours, Mr. Kennedy on Thursday snapped the tension—and sent the stock market skyrocketing—with one of the most adroitly phrased political pronouncements on record. While remaining firmly opposed to "across-the-board" increases in steel price, he stated, the powers that be are willing to accept "selective adjustments up or down, as prompted by changes in supply and demand." The day before the steel crisis, at a ceremony conferring honorary American citizenship upon Sir Winston Churchill, the Chief Executive rose to the occasion no less nobly. In a glowing tribute to his new compatriot, the President said in part: "In the dark days and darker nights when England stood alone, he mobilized the English language and sent it into battle. Whenever and wherever tyranny threatened, he has always championed liberty."

In saluting the verbal prowess of Sir Winston, the President was speaking not merely as head of state but also as one professional to another. Since taking office John F. Kennedy more than once has sought to rally his countrymen with stirring calls to arms; at times he has succeeded in sounding almost Churchillian. Unfortunately, however, the resemblance ends right there. For in translating words into deeds, the Kennedy administration has acted not with the boldness of the great Prime Minister, but with the irresolution and timidity of his inglorious predecessor. In Latin America, southeast Asia, and in the heart of Europe, the White House, despite an occasional flash of spirit, has been pursuing a policy of appeasement. Day-by-day and step-by-step, in consequence, the Communist tyranny has gained ground; the forces of freedom, contrariwise, have been in steady retreat. In a desperate quest for "peace in our time," as the author of "Why England Slept" must know, Neville Chamberlain unwittingly paved the way for World War II. To prevent history from writing a catastrophic sequel, the President and his official family would do well to learn from it.

A prerequisite to learning, of course, is the willingness to face facts. On this score the White House and its advisers have proved sadly deficient. A case in point is Walt W. Rostow, a man whose global knowledge of economic and political affairs is matched only by his apparent lack of insight. In a far-ranging speech in Philadelphia recently

on the cold war, Professor Rostow—who serves as counselor and chairman of the Policy Planning Council, Department of State—reported progress on all fronts. To be sure, he conceded, "none of the crises on the national agenda as of January 1961 has been finally and satisfactorily settled. The treaty arrangements in Laos remain precarious, still violated by the continued presence in that country of Vietminh units under the control of Hanoi. West Berlin stands firm, confident and prosperous, but the threat to its future remains. And evidently the crisis over Cuba is not at an end." Nonetheless, in a stunning nonsequitur he proceeded to conclude: "We have achieved something substantial in these 26 months: the momentum of Khrushchev's postspitnik offensive has been halted, and in the vast areas which have been threatened by it freemen breathe easier."

More dangerous nonsense would be hard to come by these days. Under the hapless leadership of the New Frontier, as even its staunch supporters now concede, the free world has suffered a dreary succession of defeats. Regarding Cuba, for example, William V. Shannon, Washington columnist for the leftwing New York Post, recently pulled no punches. "Two years ago," he observed last week, "a brave and active underground movement against Castro was spreading. Exiles in Florida were alive with hope for his early overthrow." Since then, however, their hopes have been dashed by one betrayal after another, from the Bay of Pigs to the incredible blockade imposed by the U.S. Coast Guard, not against the Communist regime in Havana, but against its mortal foes. Such perfidy now has led to the rupture of friendly ties between Washington and the Cubans in exile, a denunciation which, wrote Mr. Shannon scathingly, "Brings to a close a cycle of defeat, political ignorance and moral confusion. Everything has now been surrendered, including honor * * *."

In Laos, too, the once firm U.S. posture has developed a perilous sag. Until 1961 this country actively supported a regime in Vientiane which, despite its defects, was pro-Western and willing to resist the thrust of Communist aggression, launched years before by native Reds aided and abetted by North Vietnam and Red China. However, in the ill-founded hope of restoring peace to the embattled land, the Kennedy administration, through its roving Ambassador, W. Averell Harriman, began urging—and finally pressuring—its Laotian allies to form a coalition government with a neutralist group and the local Communist Pathet Lao. Last summer at an international conference the three factions signed an agreement which established such a troika government and demanded the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Laotian soil.

Describing the settlement as a calculated risk—Barron's chose at the time to call it a witless gamble—Washington promptly complied. The Reds did not. On the contrary they quickly set about demonstrating once again that every treaty with a Communist is an open invitation to trouble. The Pathet Lao first tried assassination—one of the trusted lieutenants of Kong Le, the misguided neutralist who originally launched the revolt, was murdered a few weeks ago. Next came subversion, a tactic revealed last month when a loyal Laotian soldier shot the Foreign Minister and denounced him as a traitor. Finally, in early April the Pathet Lao launched an unprovoked attack against the neutralist forces on the Plaine des Jarres, capturing several strongholds and other strategic real estate.

To the latest outburst of naked Communist aggression, the New Frontier reacted with its customary vigor. Even as his diplomatic handwork was collapsing, Averell Harriman was promoted to Under Secretary of State. His boss, Dean Rusk, appealed for

a cease-fire. And the SEATO Alliance, at U.S. behest, announced plans to stage an impressive show of force, not in Laos, where the shooting happens to be, but in neighboring Thailand, where freemen, Mr. Roosevelt to the contrary notwithstanding, today surely breathe easier.

"Don't worry, they're still 90 miles away," proclaims a satiric Republican car sticker. Evidently Washington hasn't gotten the message. Even as fighting broke out afresh in Laos, the White House was recording its elation over another dubious diplomatic stroke, the tentative agreement to set up a direct line to the Kremlin. Even as President Kennedy was eloquently hailing a now retired champion of freedom, the cause of freedom was suffering. Appeasement is an ugly word, and one which even Nelson Rockefeller, who sounds more like a party standard-bearer every day, backed away from last week. History has no such qualms. Unless the current disastrous course of events is reversed, there will be only one place in history for the Kennedy administration. And it won't be among the profiles in courage.

THE CARIBBEAN AREA—THREATENING SECURITY

Watch the Caribbean area. Three more "Cubas" are a real threat there.

Danger signals are flying in Haiti, Dominican Republic, British Guiana.

Situations are very different in all three countries.

Net result could be the same—a race between Reds, anti-Reds for control.

In Haiti the dictatorship of Dr. François Duvalier faces the prospect of a sudden and violent end. Duvalier has virtually had to disarm Haiti's United States-trained army, source of several plots against him. The weapons have gone to Duvalier's militia and a motley crowd of gangsters called the Tonton Macoute.

The country is in frightful shape. Haiti has less trade now than it did in 1789. Tourist trade has collapsed. Business is dying off. Ninety percent of Haiti's people live in misery, squalor, and hunger.

Pro-Castro Communists work in Haiti's confused underground. Castro's Cuba is just 50 miles away across the Windward Passage. In the race to be touched off if Duvalier quits or is assassinated, Castro may start out ahead.

The Dominican Republic, after 30 years of the Trujillo dictatorship, is still in confusion. In the middle is Juan Bosch, the elected President in office since February. Bosch has cut the government budget, slashed government salaries. Question is whether Bosch will get the time to push through reforms.

Rivals aplenty are after Bosch's job. Police boss is Brig. Gen. Antonio Imbert, an ambitious national hero who helped assassinate Trujillo. Dominican Army leaders, also ambitious, distrust Bosch as an ex-Communist. Communists are working underground or train in Cuba, backed by Castro.

There is a tradition of rule by force in the Dominican Republic. There is every expectation of more tries by would-be dictators sooner or later. Then, as when the Trujillos fell, Castro's Communists will push for power.

British Guiana appears to be splitting wide open along racial lines.

Premier Cheddi Jagan is a Communist. He leads Guiana's East Indians, brought in by the British as plantation workers.

In the opposition, Forbes Burnham leads Guiana's Negroes, mainly industrial workers. He is a Socialist and anti-Communist. Peter D'Aguiar, a right wing anti-Communist, leads Guiana's Europeans, mainly Portuguese.

It's a witches' brew of trouble. Jagan's Indians are outbreeding whites and blacks. The opposition riots to keep Britain from granting independence. Only a handful of

British troops prevent a race war, a takeover by Reds.

In London, among British officials who once urged the United States to "try the neutralist solution" to save Laos, this is the grim look of southeast Asia:

Only U.S. armed force can save Laos now. Only alternative is to admit the collapse of the neutralist regime under Communist attack, to talk again.

Next deal with the Communists might mean the end of Laos, the slow collapse of Cambodia, then Thailand, finally South Vietnam.

Impression you get from the British these days is that it's really all gone anyhow, that, unless the United States is willing to go to war, there's not much that can be saved in southeast Asia. As for the British themselves, they appear to be willing to fight for nothing in southeast Asia north of Malaya, still a member of the British Commonwealth and rich in tin and rubber.

THE ADMINISTRATION OPPOSES EXPENDITURE REFORM

(Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. GOODLING) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the body of the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, there has been a growing tendency on the part of administrative spokesmen in recent weeks to charge that those who seek some reduction in next year's budget are advocating a policy which would impair our national security, retard our space program, bring on a recession and, in general, cause hardship and suffering for our people.

It is regrettable, indeed, that the national economic debate on how best to strengthen our economy and provide jobs for the growing labor force should be reduced to an emotional and, in some cases, a demagogic level.

One of the most important leaders of the Democratic Party in Congress was quoted in the Washington Post of March 6 as asking whether Republicans plan to cut funds for veterans benefits, education, you, "and mothers." The Democratic spokesman added, "If Republicans plan to come out against people, that is their privilege. They've done it before."

The President, himself, has aided and abetted the campaign. Those who question the wisdom of tax cuts, higher spending, and deeper budget deficits have been made to appear without human feeling and reckless with the Nation's security. In his press conference of March 6, President Kennedy said he wanted to know "whose life is going to be adversely affected" by the reductions in spending which had been suggested. Referring to the school lunch and the aid to dependent children programs, he asked:

Are you going to cut those kind of programs which are essential to a better life for our people?

Continuing in the same manner, the President asked whether those who suggest budget cuts are going to take action which would make the United States "permanently second-best" in space and in national security.

The President also is in the forefront of those who claim that any cut in new

spending authority or budget expenditures for fiscal 1964 would cause a recession. In a speech on March 13, he clearly said that a budget cut today would ultimately lead to another recession. According to the President, if the budget is cut, those who have honest doubts about the administration's unique and experimental fiscal policies will have to take the blame for any recession which might occur.

What a striking contrast there is between the President's attitude toward reductions in spending today and his attitude when he was a candidate for election. The day before the last Presidential election, he told a television audience—with pride—that—

The fact of the matter is that the Democratic Congress, of which I am a member, in the last 6 years cut \$12 billion off of the President's request.

In President Kennedy's eyes, a large reduction in the budget requests of the last administration was an act of wisdom and patriotism; today, attempts to reduce his own administration's rapidly rising level of spending, impairs the Nation's security and hurts people.

Mr. Speaker, there are many able and humanitarian men who are particularly well-informed in their special areas of competence who believe that the budget can be prudently trimmed. Many of them foresee advantages to the Nation from prudent and selective reductions in spending.

Basil O'Connor, former president of the American Red Cross and now President of the March of Dimes, has said that the Nation's medical research program is threatened by an over-abundance of Government grant money that is being spent wastefully and often on unsound projects. "The plethora of funds actually constitutes a positive threat to excellence," he said.

David E. Lilienthal, former Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the first Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, has called upon the Government to abandon its support of atomic power development and reduce substantially its support of basic atomic research.

The Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, Senator DOUGLAS, has said in a committee press release of March 21 that over \$3.4 billion annually can be saved in the Department of Defense alone. He said:

All responsible studies in this area since our hearings in January 1960 (including 207 reports by the Government Accounting Office) show the possibilities of economies without hurting defense through better organization and management, such as Secretary McNamara is now instituting.

An American Farm Bureau Federation spokesman told the House Ways and Means Committee recently that his organization would recommend that \$1 billion be cut from the funds the administration is requesting for farm price support operations and payments to farmers. While campaigning on television on November 7, 1960, President Kennedy said that \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion could be cut from expenditures for agriculture. At that time they were less